Film and Fado in Portugal from the 1930s to the 1950s

De Melo, Anthony

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Anthony DeMelo

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King's College London

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Department of Film Studies

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Abstract

A popular urban song, *fado* has been the subject of highly contested debates in Portuguese politics and culture. This dissertation examines the representation of *fado* in the Portuguese cinema of the 1930s and 1940s, concentrating primarily on the popular comedies, dramas and rural-folkloric films. These decades witnessed the establishment of the *Estado Novo* (New State) (1932-1974) government of António Salazar, the promotion of *fado* as the national song, and the song's prominence in the theatre, radio, and in film. It is generally accepted that this period in Portuguese cinema was complicit with the ideological values of the dictatorship. Critics of Portuguese cinema have identified *fado* as a prominent feature in the films, noting that the song's position as the national song is reason enough for its presence, yet there has been no critical discussion examining *fado's* representation in these films. In this dissertation, I concentrate on Portuguese cinema's negotiation with *fado's* history and traditions, and the mise-en-scène of performance, place, and iconography. As this dissertation will show, in the 1930s and 1940s, fado and film were negotiating a position between the popular and the political, and that while the films have conservative elements, they nonetheless offer up contradictory representations that do not warrant the generally unfavourable critical view of a cinema in step with a dictatorship. This is due largely to the enduring legacy of fado's transgressive history leading up to 1930.

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Introduction

Fado is, arguably, Portugal's preeminent musical form. Fado is sung by both male and female singers, known as *fadistas*, using a highly emotive singing style. The great Amália Rodrigues (1920-1999) exemplified this style, singing with her eyes closed, and head tilted back, wearing a black dress with a long, flowing skirt, and a black shawl draped over her shoulders. The voice in fado enjoys a rhythmic freedom and elaborate ornamentation to distinguish fado from other types of Portuguese folk song. It allows for extended *voltinhas* (elaborate and stylised vocal turns) and *rubato* (temporary disregarding of strict tempo) to emphasise phrases for dramatic and emotional impact.

The song is currently experiencing a popular renaissance both in Portugal and world-wide, and it is argued that it has never been more vital to Portuguese culture (Nery 2004, 14). This vitality has been dramatically expressed with the outpouring of grief and official mourning that followed the death of Amália Rodrigues, her internment in the *Panteão Nacional* (National Pantheon), and then the transformation of Lisbon into a museum celebrating Amália and fado on the 10^{th} anniversary of her death. The critical and popular attention paid to fado via the international success of new singers (Mariza, in particular), along with the growing study of fado in academic scholarship, and the establishment of the *Museu do Fado* (Fado Museum) in Lisbon, are further examples of the song's popularity.

The importance of fado in popular Portuguese culture is fascinating, given that it emerged out of the marginalised Lisbon neighbourhoods of Mouraria, Alfama, and Madragoa, in the early 19th century. It was performed and enjoyed by prostitutes, sailors and fishermen, lay-abouts, knife-wielding ruffians, and freed African/Brazilian slaves in the streets, brothels, and taverns, establishing themes and musical styles in the song's infancy. The taverns would eventually develop into fado-specific clubs and performance venues where neighbourhoods gathered to hear fado performed by professionals and amateurs. These *casas do fado* (fado houses) were community supported and integral in maintaining social cohesion. Fado would also see the mixing of social classes as it became popular among the upper-classes, first attracting young, bourgeois bohemian men, drawn to the taverns and brothels of the poor *bairros* (neighbourhood districts), before finding its way into the homes and salons of the aristocracy.

Fado has a long and contested history. Some of this debate has centred on fado's supposed sonic representation of Portugueseness, a belief which led to a view that fado was Portugal's *canção nacional* (national song). This is linked to fado's intense emotionality, generally considered to be representative of the Portuguese *saudade*. This affective condition of melancholy, loss, and homesickness has been popularly accepted to be part of the song's essence in that no performance of fado is removed from expressing *saudade*. Debates raged over the song's origins – whether it had its roots in Moorish music, African/Brazilian music and dance, or was sung by Portuguese sailors during the country's era of naval exploration – as admirers and detractors argued over fado's suitability as a prominent feature of Portuguese culture. Because of the song's marginalised associations, the more conservative commentators railed against the

elevation of such a disreputable song to national importance. In a series of radio broadcasts, later published, Luiz Moita (1936) condemned the song as wholly unsuited to represent the values of the Portuguese family and dangerous for the country's youth. In a direct response to Moita, the fado journal, *A Canção do Sul*, argued in an editorial in 1935 that 'fighting the fado is like trying to take away the voice of the people' (quoted in Brito 1994, 29).

However, even fado's defenders did not see eye-to-eye on issues pertaining to the song. The supporters of the journal, *O Fado* – the *Solidaridade Propaganda do Fado* (Solidarity Group for Fado) – argued that fado should only be sung in taverns, as it was in its early days. But, the *Grémio Artístico Amigos do Fado* (Friends of Fado Artistic Guild), who owned the newspaper, *A Guitarra de Portugal*, promoted the song as the highest form of artistic expression in Portuguese culture, and believed that it belonged in the salons and drawing rooms of the bourgeoisie. There was also a disagreement as to whether *fadistas* should feature in Portuguese films. In a 1939 issue of *Guitarra de Portugal* almost exclusively devoted to Hermínia Silva (1907 -1993), fado's brightest talent in the fado clubs and in the theatre, an editorial suggests that while her obvious talent for singing melancholy fado as well as lighter fado sets her apart from other *fadistas*, her talent will be squandered if she continues to feature in the theatre and in film (Agarotada e castiça, 4). Meanwhile, an editorial in *Canção do Sul*, points out that the journal has so far neglected talking about fado in the theatre and in film, but that fado has a 'definite place' in both (*Canção do Sul* 1941, 3).

This dissertation examines the representation of fado in the Portuguese cinema of the 1930s and 1940s, concentrating primarily on the popular comedies, dramas, and rural-folkloric films. These decades witnessed the establishment of the *Estado Novo* (New State) (1932-1974) government of António Salazar, the promotion of fado as the *canção nacional* (national song), and the song's prominence in the theatre, radio, and in film. Despite the regime's attempts to put a cultural program of nationalism in place, according to Felipe Ribeiro de Meneses (2009), it failed because they 'could not strait-jacket the producers of culture, highbrow and popular, into the required ideological mold' (173). As this dissertation will show, this failure is evident in the 1930s and 1940s where fado and film were negotiating a position between the popular and the political, and that while the films have conservative elements, they nonetheless offer up contradictory representations that do not warrant the generally unfavourable critical view of a cinema in step with a dictatorship. As well, fado's history leading up to 1930, particularly its roots in the marginal neighbourhoods as a song sung by prostitutes and criminals, and the comedic political-satire it would adopt as it featured in the musical revue shows of the *teatro de revista*, blur the relationship between fado and film to the *Estado Novo*.

It is generally accepted that this period in Portuguese cinema was complicit with the ideological values of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship. A prevailing view sees Portuguese cinema as created in the image of the regime, complying with the dictatorship's policies, and used as a propaganda tool for the dissemination of the regime's values and tastes (Gaeda 1981, 66). Yet, there is a lack of critical engagement with fado's representation in the films during these formative decades. In *Salazar vai ao*

Cinema (Piçarra 2006), for example, a book surveying the regime's use of film for propaganda purposes, particularly examining the documentaries that were produced under the series title *O Jornal Português*, the chapters on feature filmmaking make no reference to fado. The regime imposed censorship over all media and implemented a severe strategy against political dissidents, especially communist and left-leaning liberals, so the general feeling towards a cinema said to be allied to the values of the regime, would be viewed negatively:

> The new state created from its inception a cinema in its own image which aimed to give an idyllic view of the people and population which would correspond to the spiritual objectives of the Dictator and to the economic interests of the class holding power.
>
> In this way, for all the 48 years of the new state, the collective consciousness of the Portuguese people was inculcated with the seductive rhetoric of everyday fascism. It was modest and conformist in appeal and drew on folklore but it concealed the violent reality of the dictatorship of capitalist exploitation and colonialism. (Gaeda 1981, 66)

It is implied in this quotation that the regime was actively involved in the cinema, using it to further its aims and recognising the power of cinema to aid in propagandistic ideology.

But is this cinema's reputation deserved, or does the derision shown these films have more to do with their style and convention firmly rooted in popular entertainment, rather than the ideological opinions of the critics? Indeed, the comedies of this period have become popular for contemporary Portuguese audiences, much to the chagrin of academics and critics:

> Many of the 'Lisbon comedies' were huge blockbusters and, over the last 30 years, they have enjoyed a new lease of life through repeated broadcasting and home video releases that stretches as far as the present time. ...[T]his retrospective validation of 'Lisbon comedies' is still disappointing if one considers that it was already under a democratic regime that such conservative films (both socially and politically) earned such a consensual status in common sense and taste. (Baptista 2010, 7)

The 'Lisbon comedies' are especially singled out for critical derision as not only embarrassing for their conservatism, but also for their style and 'taste'. Yet, given that they are focused on happy endings, marriage, the reconciling of social classes, and broad-based comedic caricatures, are they that different from light entertainment films from Hollywood, France, or Great Britain? The *comédia à portuguesa*, literally 'Portuguese-style comedy films,' borrowed from the Portuguese vaudeville *teatro de revista* and the problem of incorporating sketch-based variety programs into the narrative structure of a film comedy are evident in the Portuguese comedies.

Furthermore, the *teatro de revista* provided ready-made stars, writers, and directors for Portugal's fledgling sound films, a production model that was utilised in Hollywood and other national cinemas. The comedies, more pertinently, illustrate how problematic the view is of Portuguese cinema and fado being in-step with the dictatorship. Prior to the establishment of the *Estado Novo* the *teatro de revista* had made a major impact in popularising fado, bringing it to the middle classes, and sanitising the subversive elements for a more conservative audience. This did not completely erase the marginal associations, but demonstrates the negotiating process that was under way in establishing fado as the national song and a key feature of early Portuguese sound films.

Given the popularity of the comedies, they are especially significant as examples of how fado's history has an impact on its representation and obscures the assertion that these films are propaganda vehicles. It is this 'cultural resonance' of fado and its transgressive history that muddies the status-quo representation of these films. Ian Garwood (2006), writing on the use of pre-existing pop songs in Hollywood cinema, describes 'cultural resonance' as:

> The extent to which the pre-existing histories of the pop song, the artist singing the song, and/or the song as representative of a specific genre of pop music is taken into account is another area of choice for the filmmaker when a pop song is chosen to accompany a particular dramatic situation in a film.
>
> It is undoubtedly the case that viewers will bring different levels of knowledge of a particular song with them when

> confronted with the use of an 'imported' pop song in a particular film: this is not something under the control of the filmmaker. However, the filmmaker can decide which existing connotations will be made meaningful to the dramatic situation at hand. (104-105)

I do not believe that the films go as far as to actively subvert the dominant ideology of the day, however, that is not to say that the images and connotations associated with fado fit well with the status quo. From a purely ideological point-of-view, the argument that the films, and fado by proxy, are complicit with the regime is over simplistic. I will show that when including fado's history and iconography in the discussion, it becomes necessarily nuanced. The representation of fado in films owes as much to its origins and early development as it does to the influence of the *Estado Novo's* cultural policies.

The situation of the Portuguese cinema with respect to the *Estado Novo* is also complex. Prime Minister António Salazar's indifference to feature film-making, due to the financial cost, restricted Portuguese cinema to such an extent that between 1931 and 1949 only sixty feature films were produced. With such a minimal output, scarce funds and interest coming from the *Estado Novo*, the issue of a popular Portuguese cinema is problematic. How can popular genres develop in this situation? The financial strength behind the propaganda movements of the contemporaneous dictatorships of Germany, Italy and Spain, were well beyond Portuguese finances. In comparison, the German film industry produced over a thousand entertainment films between 1933 and 1945. It was nationalised and managed by the propaganda ministry in a way that the Portuguese film

industry could not have been given the economic situation in Portugal and the lack of a defining film-cultural project. The film industries in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy were a major part of the wider cultural project of these two regimes and were given the financial resources to meet those needs.[1]

It is necessary, then, to nuance the discussion of a popular cinema and genre with respect to Portuguese cinema. As elsewhere, Hollywood films dominated film exhibition in Portugal, in effect establishing Hollywood as the purveyor of popular taste.[2] The relative economic health of the Portuguese film industry's exhibition sector served as a justification for the government's neglectful stance toward the country's film producers. In fact, it was not until 1948 that the government legislated the protection of Portuguese film production. Law 2027 established a fund to finance production, while mandating the exhibition of Portuguese films. Exhibitors were expected to devote one full week out of every six to the screening of domestic films. However, the law merely demonstrated the government's lack of interest in the national film industry by underfunding the production capital (approximately $140,000 US), and not applying penalties to exhibitors who failed to respect the law. Salazar's opinion of cinema as an expensive industry, presumably also thinking that film production would not bring a favourable financial return, may have guided policy in this area.

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[1] Studies on the cinema in Germany, Italy and Spain are extensive, but for the particular case of nazi Germany, fascist Italy and Francoist Spain, see Petley (1979), Landy (1986), Hay (1987), Hake (2001), Reich and Garofalo (2002), O'Brien (2004), Reboll and Willis (2004), Marsh (2006), and Ricci (2008).

[2] *Casablanca* (Michael Curtiz, 1942), for example, played to packed theatres in Lisbon for 10 weeks (Costa 1991, 106).

Similarly, the Estado Novo also demonstrated a lack of interest, to some extent, in fado. In the 1930s and 1940s the regime did not latch onto fado in a strong way, due somewhat to its earlier associations with marginal social-classes (criminal and sexual). Interestingly, by the time Salazar had taken power in 1932, fado had already become a popular song across all social classes, having been appropriated and accommodated to suit the various tastes of its audiences. Nonetheless, a series of policies were implemented to restrict fado in the 1930s. Regulations were put in place with the song being 'performed in a specific space, to a time-table and in a codified manner [resulting in] the whole performance and atmosphere [becoming] ritualized' (Brito 1994, 33). All lyrics were subject to censorship, and singers and musicians had to obtain a professional license. This would end the tradition of lyrical improvisation, at least in the state-sanctioned fado houses, as the regime also placed restrictions and regulations on the performance venues. Fado houses would become similar in decor with the list of fados and singers registered with the authorities prior to a performance. These restrictions continued into the 1940s but with an embrace of fado's traditions, albeit, a sanitised one.

What the *Estado Novo* did do was embrace Portugal's past and traditions with a public works initiative memorialising national symbols and events. This involved a building project of memorials and statues, the regeneration of neighbourhoods and villages to reflect traditional conceptions of place, and the staging of festivals and expositions glorifying Portugal's historical achievements of national significance. Ellen W. Sapega (2002) has examined the visual culture of Salazarist images and found that 'the visual gained unprecedented importance during the 1930s and 1940s as a site around which the state sought to construct its discourses of power. For a culture in

which literacy was highly uneven, the visual represented a means of reaching new audiences' (46). This argument is particularly relevant to this dissertation as the visual along with the aural becomes highly significant for a representation of Portugal during the dictatorship. In a country where illiteracy was high, fado could function in a manner similar to the visual memorialising that Sapega examines. She argues that counter-images act 'in opposition to [the officially sanctioned aesthetic] or according to some intermediate, negotiated position, [and therefore] any artefact is capable of producing its own counter-image' (48).[3] This dissertation offers the possibility that the representation of fado in Portuguese cinema of those decades results in a counter-image of sorts due to fado's celebrated traditions and iconography.

As demonstrations of political dissent intensified in the 1950s, the regime's relationship to fado changed significantly with a more proactive propaganda policy. By this time fado had developed an 'authentic' tradition that coincided with the values and ideology of the dictatorship and in this way could be accepted by the *Estado Novo* as the de-facto national song. The years of control and homogenising policies over fado now allowed the regime to propagandise fado in a way that it could not in its first two decades in power. This intrusion into fado by the dictatorship took the form of removing

[3] As an example, Sapega comments on the Padrâo dos Descobrimentos (Monument of the Discoveries), built in 1960 to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator. The monument depicts Prince Henry and other figures of national prominence during the years of expansion and colonisation as well as patriotic symbols in a stylised modernist take on a Portuguese caravel (ship). She claims that pictorial images of this monument taken shortly after the 1974 revolution that show the many wooden crates of Portuguese returnees from the African colonies dwarfing the monument in the background, ironically comments on the regime's failed colonial strategy (2002: 48-49). Interestingly, the monument was originally meant to be built for the 1940 Exposição do Mundo Português and was designed by Cottinelli Telmo who directed *A Canção de Lisboa* (1933).

associations to the song's marginalised and seedier elements. As will be shown, however, this neutralising experiment did not easily eradicate the history.

Therefore, while the *Estado Novo* regime, with respect to fado and film, is determinant to a certain extent, I show that it was not as pervasive as previously thought. In the chapters that follow, there is indeed much to suggest that the films are ideologically compatible with the cultural project of the dictatorship, yet there is also evidence that, with respect to the representation of fado and other cultural influences, the films expose contradictory positions via cultural tropes that precede the regime.

While fado appears in a high proportion of films in the 1930s and 1940s, it is not a necessary feature in every film. Indeed, in the three types of film genres where the song is discussed in this dissertation, its prominence varies significantly. There are the films where fado appears once or twice but is tangential to the narrative, dramas where fado is central, and the comedies where fado was a key feature of the genre's convention but is featured alongside other types of popular songs and music. Each grouping will be addressed in separate chapters.

Chapter 1 provides the historical context of Portugal in the 1930s and 1940s, engaging with the history of fado and film in Portugal. This chapter will, therefore, focus on defining fado, by examining the history of the song, and the various debates surrounding its origins, specifically: the song's origins associated with marginals, criminals, and prostitutes; the shift from street song to bourgeois acceptance; the national song debate; the specific performance practice and performance space; and the

melancholy nostalgia of *saudade* tied to the song's mythology. This chapter will also offer an account of the film industry in Portugal during the 1930s and 1940s, with particular emphasis placed on definitions of genre and the problematic application of genre for a small film-producing nation. As well, the question of what can be considered a popular Portuguese cinema under such limiting conditions is considered. This, inevitably, will address the small output of film production, the situation of film in Portugal relative to the major film-producing nations, and how the idea of genre must be approached differently from other 'classical' cinemas.

Chapter 2 focuses on films where one or two fado songs feature but are not necessarily integral to the narrative. Fado's representation in these films provide moments that represent the song's earlier, more subversive associations, as well as significant nationalistic discourses. The chapter examines fado as a travelling song sung by gypsies and beggars taking the song to the countryside away from the traditional Lisbon neighbourhoods, and as a song of transgression and pleasure, alluding to fado's origins as a song of prostitutes and criminals, and as a sensual song of the night. Finally, the chapter addresses Portugal's involvement in the First World War and the use of fado as national song to promote a heroic national identity, one that is connected to Portugal's imperialist past.

In Chapter 3 the focus shifts to the dramas where fado is central to the narrative. Here, the central figures of Maria Severa and Amália Rodrigues come to the fore. Severa is invoked as the original star-*fadista* and the defining figure of fado mythology. Various cultural representations of Severa are addressed in relation to Portuguese

cinema's appropriation of the singer. The central figure of the *fadista* dominates in these dramas, which favour the star in narrative content and through film form, and the key performer here is Amália. The chapter will, therefore, explore Amália as star, both as a *fadista* and as an icon of Portuguese culture. The chapter draws on elements of a fado performance that were seen to be essential and examines the associations to the Lisbon neighbourhoods of the Alfama and Mouraria. Finally, the chapter looks at the changes imposed on fado over the two decades, with particular attention paid to the performance venues and how this can be charted via the films.

Chapter 4 looks at fado in the popular comedies, and reconciles the song's melancholia to the style and genre conventions of the *comédia à portuguesa* in connection to the *teatro de revista*. Fado had become a major draw in the *teatro de revista*, a type of music hall, which impacted greatly on the development of the film comedies. A brief introduction to the *teatro de revista* opens the chapter emphasising significant similrities to the film comedies and fado's incorporation. Fado is not a key feature of the narrative, but is established as the national song, associated with the nation and community. In the comedies fado helps to unite the community, particularly in the setting of the performance space, where all members of the community appear in support of a *fadista*.

In the concluding chapter the analysis of fado's representation in the films is placed alongside the view that the Portuguese films of the 1930s and 1940s are in line with the regime's values. Two films from the 1950s will, therefore, be discussed to illustrate the changing representations of fado in Portuguese cinema as it relates to the

regime. Given the uneasy relationship between the *Estado Novo* and fado up to 1950, the indifference shown to feature filmmaking, and the controversial debates around fado's place in Portuguese culture, this dissertation does not deny that the films are reconciled to the status quo of Portuguese life under the dictatorship but finds this to be a limiting view. This dissertation explores the use of popular images under an authoritarian dictatorship which may, via the representation of fado in film, result in a counter-image to those purported to be favourable to the regime.

Chapter One

Fado and Film: Contexts

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the historical context of fado and of film in Portugal, while also considering the relationship between these cultural forms as they relate to the policies and values of the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship of António Salazar.

The section on fado will act as a general introduction to the song, setting aside the contentious debate around the exact origin of fado.[4] The discussion will be framed around the performance practice, performance space, iconography, and thematic tropes of melancholy, nostalgia and the Portuguese affective condition of *saudade*. There will be consideration of the pleasure and feeling through voice and gesture.

The section on Portuguese cinema will centre on the popular genres during the 1930s and 1940s. Specific to this, is to frame the overview on films that feature fado, either peripherally to the narrative or where fado is a key feature of the narrative. The question of genre is problematic in relation to Portuguese cinema given the small

[4]Arguments have been made to claim that fado was the result of African, Arab, or Brazilian influences, or various combinations of these, as well as, an 'authentic' Portuguese song-form. See Carvalho ([1903] 1982); Pimentel ([1904] 1989); Gallop (1933); Moita (1936); Osório (1974); Costa and Guerreiro (1984); Vernon (1998); and Nery (2004).

number of films produced in any year and, therefore, the survey will be framed around this problem of genre classification as it is applied to the Portuguese cinema.

O Fado: a painting and a silent film

O Fado, 1910, José Malhoa, Oil on canvas, 151 x 186cm (Figure 1)

The naturalist painter, José Malhoa (1855-1933), created one of the defining images of fado's iconography: the 1910 painting, *O Fado* (Figure 1). Malhoa sat for 35 days with his models, the *fadista* Amâncio and his mistress, the prostitute Adelaide de Facada, in her room on Rua do Capelão in the Mouraria. The painting did not exhibit in Portugal until 1917 after being exhibited in Argentina, France, and England, where it was displayed under the name, 'The Native Song' (Pereira 2008, 67). When the painting exhibited in Lisbon as part of the 14th exhibition of the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas*

Artes (National Society of Fine Arts), Malhoa received harsh criticism, with reviews commenting that the painting does not distinguish itself in terms of 'beauty' or 'moral,' and that the subject matter is 'shocking' (Pereira 2008, 67). In this instance it was fado's association with those on the margins of Lisbon society – the prostitutes and criminals – that caused some to question the painting's morality and fascination with fado's transgressive nature. Others questioned the authenticity of the painting's subjects, claiming that the 'truth' of the painting was fictitious (Silva 2003, 156). However, despite these criticisms the painting would become a key iconographic representation of fado, and provide inspiration for novels, plays, and films.

José Malhoa was associated with the artistic movement known as the *Grupo de Leão* (Lion's Group) of the 1880s - a movement that placed naturalism at its artistic core. Malhoa especially sought to represent all facets of Portuguese culture and society in ways that Raquel Henriques da Silva (2003, 152) refers to as capturing the 'mimetic realism' of his subjects. This dedication to verisimilitude can be observed in the painting itself, not just with the figures of Amâncio and Adelaide de Facada, but the time Malhoa spent with them (35 days) to capture minute details of the room: smoked cigarettes litter the floor around Amâncio's feet, Adelaide de Facada's shoe dangles from her toes, the crack in the mirror, and the worn picture of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ tacked to the wall. Amâncio's muted tones, not only in clothing but the darkness of his skin, blend well with the background, making him less the focus of the viewer's eye. It is Adelaide de Facada who demands our attention with her bright red skirt with black triangle detail, white cotton camisole and luminescent white skin. And as she is captivated, or enraptured, by the singing of her companion we are then drawn to him following her

look. The melancholy ambience is present, especially via the posture of Adelaide de Facada with her head resting on her hand, a typical visual representation of melancholy.[5] However, it is the sexual ambience that dominates. The song is also, it seems, part of a possible post-coital activity. Facada and Amâncio sit with open postures, legs spread apart. A shawl hangs off from the crook in Adelaide de Facada's arm, not used as modest coverage of her chest. Her neck and chest are enticingly inviting, and the brightness of the red in the skirt, and the detail at its hem, lead the eyes to travel up her legs.

The painting's influence was immediate in Portugal, leading to a theatrical dramatisation of the painting in 1918 and then in the 1923 film, *O Fado* (Maurice Mariaud).[6] *O Fado*, tells the story of João, a blacksmith who is drawn to the seedy Alfama, where he is having an affair with the prostitute, Ana. He is neglecting his wife and child for his passion for Ana and fado. Only at the end, when his father confronts Ana, does she end the relationship, and left alone, cries in her room, where a rival for her affections enters and takes a *guitarra* and sings her a fado. The fado provides a musical expression of her sorrow - though, of course, we are only provided with the intertitles of the lyrics, our imagination filling in the sonic soundtrack - helping to heal

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[5]This visual representation is influenced by Albrect Dürer's 1514 allegorical engraving, *Melancolia* I, depicting a female angel sitting with her head on her hand.

[6]The painting would again be interpreted for film featuring Amália Rodrigues in the short film, *Fado Malhoa* (Augusto Fraga, 1947). Both of these films reproduce the paintings mise-en-scène and protagonists in a detailed, faithful representation, albeit with the exception that the Amália film is far more subdued in its representation of the painting's lurid mood. This film will be addressed in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

her loss. The film ends with them striking the poses of Facada and Amâncio (Figure 2). The detail in the room also copies that of the painting, with a mirror and flower pot behind Ana, and a bottle of wine and glass on the table between the two. Ana's skirt also includes the triangle detail at the hem and her stockings are similarly striped. The striped stockings would be worn by Dina Teresa in *A Severa* (1931), and are also worn by the leading diva of fado today, Mariza, who also wears long flowing skirts for her concerts.

Reproducing the Malhoa painting (Figure 2)

Fado: an urban dance and song

Fado is sung by both male and female singers, known as *fadistas*, utilising a highly emotive singing style, one where not only the voice carries the emotional quality of the song, but the face and body are also signifiers of feeling. The voice in fado singing enjoys a rhythmic freedom and elaborate ornamentation which distinguishes fado from other Portuguese folk songs. Fadistas use extended *voltinhas* (elaborate and

stylised vocal turns) and *rubato* (temporary disregarding of strict tempo) to emphasise phrases for dramatic and emotional impact.

Accompanied by the *guitarra portuguesa* (Portuguese guitar) and the *violão* (Spanish guitar) a fado generally begins with an instrumental opening of four to sixteen bars, establishing tempo and melody.[7] When the *fadista* begins singing the *guitarra* will act as the *contra-canto* (counter-song), offering a counter-melody to the singer, while the *violão* provides the steady rhythmic sound. Throughout the performance the audience sits silently, devoting all their attention to the ***fadista*** out of respect for the fado. Thus, the audience, though silent and still, take on an active role in the overall theatre of a fado performance. The audience are as much a part of the fado as the singers and guitarists. This silence is an active listening and impacts on fado in a profound way. As such, there is a very strong sense of the song deeply ingrained into the 'soul' of the Portuguese.

Fado is an urban song, originating in the *bairros* (neighbourhoods) of the Alfama and the Mouraria of Lisbon. The first known account of fado appeared in an 1833 broadsheet (quoted in Gallop 1933, 201-202). For the first time the words, 'fado' and 'fadista' appear, referred in the lyric below:

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[7]The *guitarra portuguesa* is a 12-stringed guitar that belongs to the cittern family of instruments (oval body, a flat back, and a fretted neck). The *guitarrista* plays with *unhas* (fingernails) that are worn on the thumb and the index finger so the musician can pluck the strings quickly. The *violão* is a standard six-string acoustic guitar.

Dansamos também o Fado por ser dansa muito guapa	(We dance the Fado for the fine dance that it is)
E tomamos um Fadista que sabe jogar à faca.	(And we take a Fadista who knows how to use his knife.)

The *fadista* is spoken of as a rather dangerous figure with no mention of singing, but refers to a dance. The origins of the dance date back to the early 19th century. In 1807, the imperial army of Napoleon entered Portugal. This threat resulted in the Portuguese monarchy, with the help of the British navy, fleeing to Brazil. The French controlled the country for a number of months before being driven out by a British expeditionary force. The royal family remained in Brazil, while the affairs of state were governed by Viscount Beresford, and Portugal effectively came under British military rule. The Portuguese revolution of 1820, ended British domination and the monarchy returned.

The significance of these political events to the creation of fado is that during the years that the royal court remained in Brazil, a cultural exchange took place between the former colony and Portugal. Freed Brazilian and African slaves emigrated to Lisbon bringing with them the popular dances, the *lundum* and the *fofa*. Living in the Alfama and the Mouraria, these guitar-accompanied dances very quickly became popular among the working-classes. Along with these dances there was the *modinha*, a Brazilian salon song. The Portuguese were already dancing the *fandango*, and singing folk quatrains such as the *cantigas d'amor* (love songs) and the *bailadas* (dance songs), all of which developed over centuries in the country and display aspects of Spanish, African, Moorish, and Portuguese musical genres. There is no clear indicator as to when it

happened, but sometime in the early 19th century, these various genres came together as the modern day fado.

The *fadista* mentioned in the lyric above is described as someone who 'knows how to use a knife.' The Alfama and the Mouraria were not just working class, but was also home to criminals. It had generally been accepted that the term *fadista* came about after the usage of the word 'fado' to describe the singer. However, *fadista*, roughly translated as 'fatalist,' referred to a particular class of person - a derogatory term describing the inhabitants of the Alfama and Mouraria. It is in these Lisbon bairros where various social classes mingled, danced the *lundum* and the *fofa*, and sang songs that would become the fado.

Fado taxonomy

The development of fado has been divided into four phases by fado researchers. The first two phases were proposed by José Pinto de Carvalho (1984 [1903], 93). The first phase (1830-1868/9), now disputed but still commonly popular for its impressionistic inspiration drawn from the rise and fall of the sea waves, sees fado develop as a popular and spontaneous song aboard naval ships and brought to Lisbon by the sailors. During this phase all the thematic tropes of fado - the melancholy sadness, saudade, love, and tragedy - originate. The second phase, beginning in 1869, Carvalho refers to as the aristocratic and literary phase, where fado moves to the drawing rooms and fashionable salons. The *guitarra* is once again played by the upper classes, but fado is also transposed for the piano, making it an acceptable song. Much of this fascination

of the song for the upper classes has to do with the tragic love affair between the Conde de Vimioso and the fado-singing bar maid, Maria Severa. The third phase (1890-1920) was proposed by Joaquim Pais de Brito (quoted in Castelo-Branco 1998), when the song achieves a wider audience through its incorporation in the vaudeville-like Portuguese *teatro de revista*. The fourth phase begins in 1930 and 'is characterized by the professionalization and "folkloric liquidation" of *fado*, its transformation into an "artistic expression", the elimination of improvisation and the introduction of innovations in *fado* texts and compositional style' (509).

It has been suggested that there are 137 styles of fado, most associated with Lisbon, but other cities such as Coimbra and Porto, along with countless others, also have fado styles unique to them (Halpern 2004, 31). There are two basic styles of fado – the *fado castiço* (authentic/pure fado) and *fado canção* (song fado). The *fado castiço* is the older, and for some aficionados, the more authentic form of fado. This fado has fixed rhythmic and harmonic structures. The melody can be improvised or composed with the accompaniment repeating, at times with some variation (Castelo-Branco 1994, 134). There are three classic styles of the *fado castiço*: the *fado corrido* (fast fado), the *fado Mouraria* (associated with the Lisbon *bairro*), and the *fado menor* (minor fado). The first two are played in the major mode and with a fast tempo, while the *fado menor* is in a minor mode. The vocalist is able to improvise lyrics to this fixed musical structure.

Fado Canção uses a poetic and musical structure with alternating stanza and refrain and is more complex than the *fado castiço*, but has fixed melodies which the guitarists can improvise around while maintaining the harmonic structure. Salwa El-Shawn Castelo-Branco (1994, 135) writes that the *fado canção* limits the vocal

improvisation found in the earlier forms of the song. This fado developed when the fado was incorporated into the *teatro de revista*, thus altering the structure to fit the theatrical requirements of the Portuguese music-hall program (Rebello 1984, 83). This resulted in a standard form of the song, easily adaptable for radio (a fixed time-limit) and for recording, as well as for film. Three composers are instrumental in the development of *fado canção*: Raúl Ferrão (1890-1953), Frederico de Freitas (1902-1980), and Frederico Valério, who popularised the *fado canção* in the *teatro de revista* and later would contribute songs for the cinema.

Voice, Gesture, Feeling and Saudade

Fado performance has evolved over the years, but a general performance practice is expected from any *fadista*. The ritualised practice utilises elaborate vocal ornamentation accompanied by gestural movements of the arms and hands with an emphasis on dark clothing, operating as aural and visual representations of the melancholy said to be imbued in the song's emotionality. On the clothing, the shawls worn by women were originally colourful and detailed, but Amália's popularity and influence would see black shawls – her personal preference – established as essential iconographic pieces of the costume worn by female *fadistas*. The common perception of the voice in fado does emphasise it as the aural expression of the song's melancholy, but it can be also playful and light, as well as innocently/coquettishly sexual. The signalling of emotion through standardised performance practices can lead to expected signifiers as visual and aural triggers for relaying emotion, rather than the common notion that

feeling in fado comes from the 'soul' of the singer. Lila Ellen Gray (2007, 111-12), a music ethnographer, relates how she was admonished by a *fadista* for not displaying feeling:

> I sit across the table from an amateur fadista named Olga, singing to her under my breath, trying out a fado I am learning for my upcoming audition at the fado museum. Interrupting my singing, she says, 'I could hit you, I could kill you, but you will never have a Portuguese soul.' 'But we have souls too,' I say. (Since when have the Portuguese had a monopoly on soulfulness?) I try it again and ham it up by singing extended *voltinhas* (vocal turns) along with a rubato on the phrase 'cantando dou brado' ('by singing I am heard') and she says, 'Yes, now you are beginning to have some soul.' For many people in the fado subculture, the concept of learning has nothing to do with fado; for many to admit to learning might be to reveal an essential lack, to *não ser fadista* (to not be fadista). Singing fado with feeling (*sentimento*) is commonly understood as something that cannot be learned; rather a fadista is born with *fado na alma* (fado in the soul). Yet surely soulfulness is learned. For Olga, my voice and performance lacked soulful signifiers; the soul resides in musical and performative details of the voice.

Now, while Gray admits to 'ham[ming] it up', the vocal signifiers of feeling were being enacted so that her performance fit the standard practice that Olga deemed essential for fado. What is understood as singing with 'soul' is, in this case, for Lila Ellen Gray, an act of insincerity, of learned performance trickery. But this does not invalidate the emotive quality of the performance. As Simon Frith (1996, 215) writes, '[s]incerity, in short, cannot be measured by searching for what lies *behind* the performance; if we are moved by a performer we are moved by what we *immediately* hear and see'. Perhaps the 'performative details' – the *voltinhas*, *rubato*, eyes closed and head tilted back – ignite feelings in the singer in the way that these move the listener. In the picture below (Figure 3), the *fadista* is using the gestural performance signifiers audiences expect from a soulful fado performance, certainly one that the *fadista* Olga would approve of, and along with the voice, the primary signifiers of feeling in fado.

A *fadista* in Lisbon, 1946, Photograph by Toni Frissell (Figure 3)

It is, of course, the vocal emotionality that drives the melancholy sadness – the musical expression of the Portuguese *saudade*. For many, to separate fado from *saudade* is impossible. Paul Vernon (1998, 3) goes so far as to suggest that '[s]audade is inextricably linked with the Fado. Indeed, it could be said that saudade is the very soul of the music.'

There is a general view that there is something unique and untranslatable about *saudade*, something which only the Portuguese understand. It is described variously as melancholy, loss, nostalgia, yearning, sadness, and homesickness. In his essay, 'The Making of Saudade', João Leal (2000) traces the history of saudade as an invented tradition promoted by individuals and groups for very specific purposes. Leal points out that the poet, Teixeira de Pascoaes (1877-1952), became the chief theoretician of the *saudosismo* movement, a literary movement that sought to reclaim the glorious deeds of Portugal's past via a nostalgic yearning. Inspired by the republican revolution of 1910, he promoted *saudade* as a spiritual and national emotion. Leal remains sceptical that *saudade* is somehow an inherited emotion. He views the invention of *saudade* at the beginning of the 20th century as occurring simultaneously with the acceptance of fado by the cultural elite (277). If the excitement of the Republic led to examinations of nationalistic pride, then the promotion of both *saudade* and fado can be seen as a desire to culturally express that pride. *Saudade* and fado benefited from this association, as Leal argues:

> Being one of the main themes of *fado*, *saudade* also benefited from its process of transformation into a national song. At the

> same time that *fado* was becoming the particular and unique expression of Portuguese musical genius, *saudade* was slowly becoming - particularly in the urban centres - a widespread stereotype for describing the intricacies of the Portuguese soul. (277-278)

Saudade, at least the conception of *saudade* that became popular during the 1930s and 1940s, was utilised by the proponents of the *saudosismo* movement to express their nationalistic euphoria. Fado, by association, and later appropriation by the *Estado Novo*, would be viewed negatively by opponents of the regime, providing these critics with further evidence of the song's collusion with Salazar's authoritarian government.

Just as the followers of *saudosismo* nostalgically turned to past deeds for their patriotic feelings, there is a tendency in fado to also claim aspects of Portugal's history and national myths as accounts of fado's origin story – a story that is uniquely Portuguese. It is here where *saudade*, in Leal's *saudosismo* sense, is invoked as temporally elastic. A strong origin myth of fado places it on the ships of Portuguese sailors during the country's age of discovery, and in this story lies the powerful sense of fado as born in the soul of the Portuguese. This origin myth may be viewed as plausible, as Kimberley DaCosta Holton (2006, 5-6) writes, in light of the fado/*saudade* connection:

> If saudade is a mixture of desire and grief felt by sailors longing for home, it makes perfect sense to cast Portugal's first glorious sailors – the catalysts of the modern Portuguese

> nation state and the inaugurators of out-migration as an extended national drama – as fado's first vocalists. According to this narrative, fado, the national song, is intoned by the navigator, the national hero, who is driven to musical expression by saudade, the national essence.

In what would be derisively referred to as the three Fs of Portuguese culture, the slogan, 'Fátima for religion, Fado songs for nostalgia, and Football for the glory of Portugal,' became emblematic of the cultural project of the Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1969). Fátima, the site where it is believed that an apparition of the Virgin Mary appeared before three children in 1917, ennobled Portugal as a Catholic country – a nation for God. Football, especially with the great Benfica team of the 1960s, demonstrated that the small country on the edge of Europe competed and won against its larger neighbours. And fado, via *saudosismo*, conflated nostalgia with national patriotism. Yet, Salazar's personal opinion of fado and nostalgia contradicts the policy of his own cultural project:

> Our country's past is full of glory, full of heroism; but what we've needed, and especially in the last hundred years, has been less brilliance and more staying-power, something less showy but with more perspective. Anything that just makes its appeal to the heroism of our race without altering its general attitude of mind, its way of looking at things, its way of doing things, all that may give us back for a moment our pages of glorious past;

> but we burn ourselves up in the flames, and then just relapse into the melancholy fatalism of which our *fado* is the musical expression. That's the cause of our being a sad people; we're removed from the realities of life because we're given to living in a sham heroism. Now if we're to do anything new, to bring about a reformation, we shall have first to reform the individual, to alter his outlook in tune with his atmosphere, so that he may be of use to his country (quoted in Ferro 1939 [1933], 248-49).

It was precisely this glorification of Portugal's past that was exploited by the SPN and placed at the heart of the strategy put in place by the regime as part of its cultural policy, especially in the erecting of monuments honouring historical achievements. Salazar seems to implicate fado as an obstacle to be dealt with in order to bring about a favourable public opinion of the regime, an indication that fado was distrusted by the *Estado Novo*, and not at all to the taste of the dictator.

However, fado's sonic melancholy, derided by Salazar, also works as an expression of nostalgia, which the regime exploited. Svetlana Boym (2001) identifies two types of nostalgia – restorative and reflective. Restorative nostalgia engages in nationalism, what Boym states is the 'antimodern myth-making of history by means of a return to national symbols and myths' (41). Reflective nostalgia is a more personal nostalgia bound up in individual and cultural memory that 'lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another time and place' (41). This view of nostalgia is tied directly to reflections on time and space:

> If restorative nostalgia ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time, reflective nostalgia cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space. (49)

Just as *saudade* is imagined to be an affective condition that shrinks time and space to fill the gap of longing, then fado functions as the sonic expression of that nostalgia. For the émigré Portuguese, the longing for home and family is temporarily diminished as they experience a moment of *saudade*, either through the listening of fado or some other culturally personal activity. Fado is not necessarily the only means by which this absence is filled, but the conception of fado as the song of *saudade* is certainly bound up in this rhetoric.

This rhetoric contends that *saudade* fills the lack of home and family, the hope for something better, and where fado is the musical expression of that melancholy. Fado offers a sense of utopianism, the feeling that a reunion is possible, desired, if not in fact actualised. Similarly, it has been argued that classical film music works through feelings of nostalgia. Caryl Flinn (1992, 93), writing on Hollywood film music of the 1930s and 1940s believes that, '[m]uch of the utopian ideology of classical film music is founded on the idea of nostalgia, a word derived from the Greek *nostos* to return home, and *algia*, a mournful or painful condition.' Fado's 'utopian ideology' is also operating on feelings of nostalgia. The debates surrounding fado's origin is littered with stories of sailors expressing their desire to return home, singing this melancholic melody, the waves of the ocean inspiring the melismatic phrasings. Fado historiography has been

dominated by discussions of fado as representing the nation, the Portuguese soul, the Portuguese Empire, the voyages of discovery, the lonely emigrant and the homesick sailor. All of these are either lost or unattainable or impossible to pin down exactly, but the popular perception of fado and the melancholy of the sailors during these glory years of expansion, has a lasting hold on the cultural imagination of fado. That is why you find descriptions such as this one by Portuguese poet, Fernando Pessoa written in 1929:

> The Fado is neither happy nor sad. It is an interval. It created the Portuguese soul which did not exist and when it desired everything and was not capable of desire [...] / the fado is weariness of the intense soul, the air of contempt with which Portugal regarded the God in whom it trusted but which had abandoned it. / In the fado the gods return, hallowed and remote. (quoted in Brito 1994, 15)

The images that Pessoa invokes share that sense of longing, despair and sadness where *saudade* fills the void. But there is a sense of hope, of something that is just out of reach, but nonetheless, attainable which is expressed through fado – the gods may be 'remote' but 'in fado' they have at least returned.

I am not arguing that Lisbon as represented in the films is a utopian ideal. Rather, it's more along the lines of what Richard Dyer (1992) writes in his essay, 'Entertainment and Utopia.' These films offer up a 'utopianism [that] is contained in the feelings it embodies. It presents, head-on as it were, what utopia would feel like rather than how it would be organized' (18). Fado, in particular, is the musical embodiment of

this utopianism. In this respect I am drawing on the work of Caryl Flinn (1992, 10), who writes:

> Music also prompts the impression of utopia by being able to provoke such great degrees of affect in its listeners, an ability that,...is especially important in generating the feelings and impressions we associate with utopia.

The feelings of utopianism are especially expressed in the melismatic phrasing utilised by the *fadistas* and is a key feature of fado's enduring appeal:

> Traditional fado vocality enraptures listeners due in large part to impassioned melismatic phrasing. Fado singers typically extend words' beginning vowel sounds into moments of prolonged vocal improvisation, where a musical resolution is slow in coming and audiences are left hanging, waiting for closure in the full annunciation of the the [*sic*] word at the melisma's terminus. This manipulation of vocal 'suspension' produces a dramatic tension within the body of the listener and constitutes the emotional locus of fado pathos and passion.... (Holton 2002, 114)

In other words, the use of melismatic phrasing in fado is a utopian quality, and similar to Western music tradition which relies on tonal resolution. According to Janos Maróthy the utopian ideology of classical western music relies on the idea of homesickness and

nostalgia, and therefore Western tonal music always returns to the tonal centre of the work.

> By retarding tonal resolution - and thus delaying the return 'home' - Maróthy observes how Western music conveys the idea that this goal is truly difficult to attain, elevating what he rightly perceives as a banal conceit into a grand and noble conquest. This practice, as Maróthy and others have noted, historically helped lead to the gradual sentimantalization of Western music. Based on the idea of desire's impossibility, musical sentimentality relies on formal devices such as melismatics and rhythmic lengthening to stress the irretrievability of the object and to enhance its emotional weight. (quoted in Flinn 1992, 94)

The *fadista's* voice operates in a similar manner to how fado itself is perceived as the utopian return home discussed above. The 'emotional locus' Kimberly DaCosta Holton describes is the feeling of that hoped-for utopian sense of nostalgia, especially when the *fadista* prolongs the note, drawing out one's expectation. This expectation of pleasure can be for the listener, what Roland Barthes (1977, 188) said of the singing voice, that it offers a desire similar to the pleasure of sexual climax ('jouissance'), the erotic 'climactic pleasure hoped for.' However, melismatic singing is, perhaps more appropriately, a prolonging of desire and a refusal to grant the listener a tidy closure to their melancholy. Jacky Bowring (2008, 102) writes:

> The impossibility of actually returning to the past, a lost object which most certainly cannot be regained, casts nostalgia as melancholy *par excellence*. Nostalgia is a melancholic prolonging, a retardation of closure – nostalgics do not seek a cure, they want the pleasure of the pain of separation.

The use of melismatic phrasings in fado singing has an effect on the listener that results in the anticipation of the utopian hoped-for wish fulfilment. Combined with *saudade* as an evocation of Portuguese feelings of home and the embodiment of the Portuguese 'soul,' fado's sonic utopianism is a lasting popular trope, which the films of the 1930s and 1940s form a part of that popular conception.

The Marginalised, Bohemians and the Bourgeoisie

Fado's association with the marginalised persons of Lisbon society would become a defining feature of fado historiography and iconography. In this section, the move from the margins as a song of prostitutes, criminals, freed slaves and beggars, sung in shabby taverns in dangerous quarters of the city, to the bourgeois salons and gardens of the bourgeoisie, will be examined to show how fado cut across Portuguese social classes.

As noted earlier in this chapter, '*fadista'* did not refer to a singer of a fado but to a criminal social class. Rui Vieira Nery (2004, 42) points out that in these early decades

of fado, the use of the term ‘casa de fado’ and ‘fadista’ was also limited to bordellos and prostitutes, respectively (42). It is not surprising then that the earlier conceptions of fado in Lisbon were of associations with those on the margins of Portuguese society, and with the dark alleys of Lisbon’s shabby *bairros*. Therefore, from its early years, fado was sung at night in Lisbon’s taverns, brothels, and alleys. In 1841, Dr. Inácio dos Santos Cruz studied the nightlife of Lisbon in these marginal spaces, writing:

> ...there are taverns which are regularly frequented by these prostitutes and the lower orders who are in the habit of associating with them. The busiest taverns are chosen, and to attract still more customers the taverners encourage the prostitutes and allow the most obscene language and all manner of indecent and disreputable behaviour. Many a dance and bacchanal has been accompanied by shameless and lascivious acts.... (quoted in Brito 1994, 19)

As Rui Viera Nery (2004, 58) goes on to explain, it is in these poor-neighbourhood taverns and bordellos where the various figures of fado’s originating story – the prostitutes, sailors, freed African and Brazilian slaves, factory and manual labourers, street vendors, artists, and aristocratic bohemians – mixed together and shared an appreciation of the song.

Throughout the 19th century and early 20th century, the marginalised singers and musicians of Lisbon’s poor districts would often end up in prison where they continued to sing and play the fado. The importance of fado in prison and for these men would be

graphically illustrated by the extensive prison tattooing that featured *guitarras*, or women playing *guitarras*, and the figure of the *fadista*, the ruffian who wore a short jacket and a wide silk-belt who carried a knife. Fado nights and competitions were organized in the prison and apparently the most requested songs were those that told of prostitutes, the downfall of the bourgeoisie, and tragic life stories (Brito 1994, 30).

As described earlier, fado was initially associated with the criminal under-class and marginalised members of Portuguese society. Fado's uneasy relationship with the bourgeoisie did not change for the better until the late 19th century and early 20th century. This, however, did not completely sanitise fado in the opinion of the upper and ruling classes, especially those with conservative, right-leaning opinions. Much of this is due to the song's reputation as a song of criminals, but also as a politically-charged song. Fado had developed a strong leftist strain, and by 1875 the song would become increasingly seen as a working-class song style, referred to as *fado operários* (working-class fado) and *fado socialistas* (socialist fado). Rui Vieira Nery (2004, 132) discovered that this politically committed fado denounced the monarchy, the military, and religion, while praising Marx, Kropotkin and Bakunin, such as the example below:

A Ciência humanitarian	(Humanitarian science)
Símbolo do altruism	(A symbol of altruism)
Têm por base condenar	(Has a goal to condemn)
Deus, Pátria, militarism.	(God, country and militarism.)
Inda o mundo ha-de assistir	(The world shall behold)
Aos pobres livres do jugo	(The poor free from oppression)
Espezinharem o verdugo	(Smashing the butchers)
Da burguezia a surgir.	(Of the ruling bourgeoisie.)

This socialist strain of fado was relatively unknown during the Salazar years. The military coup that established the dictatorship that would lead to Salazar as Prime Minister censored fado in order to remove the marginal and leftist influence from what was becoming the national song. As Rui Viera Nery states in an interview, '[t]he regime didn't trust fado,...[and] it was originally sung by people of ill-repute – prostitutes, thieves and marginals – and that did not carry great prestige for a song of national identity' (Broughton 2007). The socialist strain in fado led to more vocal anti-fado criticisms infused in some way by a critic's own political ideology, as was the case with the right-wing commentator, Luis Moita (1936). Moita believed that fado was a negative influence on family values and especially on youth. These negative declarations brought about a response from the song's admirers in the form of magazines and newspapers devoted to fado. This can be seen as the moment where the song's place as the national song becomes a focal point for debate. The fado magazine, *O Fado*, often held benefit concerts during the 1920s in support of *fadistas* and *guitarristas* who were imprisoned. On 7 August 1922, a *fadista* was 'treacherously murdered [...] by a killer hired by the police [...] when a general strike was called to demand only one sort of bread' (quoted in Brito 1994, 28). Socialism and a growing republicanism clashed with the nationalist sentiments of the governing class and those in the influential *saudosismo* movement. Fado up to the 1930s had been a part of a struggle between class and ideology and was perceived to be pushing against the established social order.

As well as this political socialism, fado was sung by the poor under-class as an autobiographical song. These beggars travelled throughout the regions and cities of the country, adopting an improvisatory oral tradition, and passing along fado to other cities

and towns who would develop their own specific styles outside of its traditional home of Lisbon. The most significant of these emerging styles came from the university town of Coimbra where students developed a lyrical style that was more poetic than narrative (Brito 1994, 25). The main focus of this dissertation is Lisbon fado, however, there will be a discussion of Coimbra fado as it featured in the film, *Capas Negras* / *Black Capes* (Armando Miranda, 1947). The improvisatory aspect of the fado in these early years suggests that the song was constantly changing, its singers and musicians adapting it to their own lives. According to Joaquim Pais de Brito (1994, 31), this use of lyric improvisation in fado resulted in the singer relating personal social experiences and political ideas:

> The fado is not only singing but also narrating and communication the factors which contribute to the structure of society and its behaviour. It has never been produced in a closed and codified *milieu*, being a cultural expression in the widest sense. It is manifested in its themes, as a social chronicle of ephemeral historicity, rather fragile, like the groups which sang it, and where everyday events or *fait-divers* are important and their content is an exercise in diversity and discovery.

As a song with a strong working-class and socialist background, this would inevitably come under the scrutiny of a right-wing conservative dictatorship which emphasised values of God, Fatherland, and family, as well as drew on the Catholic

Church in Portugal for support and influence. In order to remove the socialist politics from the song, a series of policies were implemented in the 1930s, in part in line with the regime's policy of de-politicisation discussed in the introduction to this dissertation. As a result of these policies, all lyrics were subject to censorship and singers and musicians had to obtain a professional license, thus ending the song's tradition of lyrical improvisation, spontaneous street performance and association with bordellos. This latter affect was achieved by requiring a license to perform fado in state-sanctioned fado houses, only, through restrictions and regulations placed on the decor and business practice of the performance venues.

Not surprisingly, the popularity of fado among upper-class bohemians coincided with it being played and appreciated in the salons of the wealthy. Many factors come together in the song's dissemination among various echelons of Portuguese society, not least of which is the fascination with the tragic, and gossipy, love story of the prostitute and *fadista*, Maria Severa, and the aristocratic bullfighter, the Conde Marialva. Severa's life gripped the imagination of the public and helped to form the traditions and myths of fado. One such mythic tale tells of Severa's first love to a young *fadista*. This man committed a crime and for his punishment was sent to Africa. Severa was so distraught over losing him that her melancholy, her *saudade*, affected her style of singing, thus establishing her credentials as a *fadista*, as someone whose own tragic experience was reflected in her singing, and established fado as a song of, not only melancholy, but one that comes from one's very soul, deeply felt and emotionally charged. Her story and influence will be addressed in greater depth in chapter three, but it shows how fado

enthusiasts would seize on her story fusing it to the song in lyrics, iconography and tradition and creating the legend of fado's first star-*fadista*.

The Severa and Marialva love affair also initiates another strong cultural association of fado, and that is its relationship with *Marialvismo*. *Marialvismo* derives from the rules of horse riding and bullfighting as set down by the Marquis of Marialva in the late 18th century.

Marialvismo forms part of a larger cultural discourse on nationhood, masculinity and ideology:

> It involved a set of moral and ideological precepts: bravery, nobility, national pride, honour, virility. It established the lower classes and the aristocracy as the real representatives of nationhood. It defined Fado and Bullfighting as the main arenas for the expression of these ideas. (Almeida 1995, 5)

The lower classes were especially represented in this nationalist machismo via the figure of the *campino,* the cowboy of the Ribatejo region who worked for aristocratic ranch owners herding the bulls on horseback (a figure that will feature in several of the films discussed in this dissertation). Again, fado plays a key role in the mixing of the social classes which goes some way to introducing the song to the wider aristocracy. A descendent of the Marquis, the Conde Marialva, is the very aristocrat who carried on the sensational affair with Maria Severa, thus insinuating fado into the machismo of *Marialvismo*.

This wayward carousing of young men of wealth and nobility was seen as a bohemian pursuit, a necessary experience and expression of their masculine identities. Writing about bohemianism and marginality in nineteenth-century Lisbon, Paulo Guinote (2002, 90) describes the tavern, in particular, as a site of bohemian transgression:

> Taverns were by far the most identifiable places associated with marginality, transgression and bohemia. They existed altogether; alcohol, gambling, fado. Women and regular fights. Often the difference between a respectable eating-house and a disreputable tavern was not always obvious at the front door. There might or might not be convenient rooms at the back where couples could spend an hour – or a night.

Fado was very much a part of this milieu where young aristocrats caroused in the same taverns of the Alfama and Mouraria as the criminals and prostitutes. The bohemian life also became synonymous with the night:

> The night was the mysterious kingdom of darkness, danger and transgression. Even if the real bohemian did not abide by any particular timetable for his pleasures, the bourgeois image of bohemia would be for a long time to come associated with the night. The bohemian life was lived afterhours, when all respectable people were safely at home in bed. (Guinote 2002, 91-92)

As will be discussed in later chapters, fado's association with the night and dark streets and interiors, relates to this earlier understanding of the bohemian life, one where transgressive pleasure is desired and sought out. Seen as a temporary, if not necessarily expected, rite of passage for young men to undertake, bohemianism may have been tolerated up to a point by the ruling classes. The representation of fado in film is connected to this image of transgression, pleasure and the night, first explored in the silent film, *O Fado* (Maurice Mariaud, 1923), briefly analysed at the top of this chapter.

Taverns and Fado Houses

The venue for performing fado is also tradition-bound and a key signifier of the song's history and mythology. A fado house is a restaurant, bar, or club where fado is performed. These venues have changed throughout the song's long history to incorporate various associative iconographies (these may include paintings depicting bulls and bullfighters, or idyllic garden settings with dancing peasants, and the walls may be adorned with pictures of famous singers and guitarists). Writing in the 1930s, Rodney Gallop (1936) offers a first-hand account of the early fado houses:

> The spacious rectangle of the "Luso" and the low-vaulted room of the "Victoria" are alike crowded with tables and chairs at which many men (but few women) sit drinking coffee, beer, or soft drinks with exotic names such as Maracuja or Guarana. Presently the lights are lowered and

> turn red, and a woman steps on to a low platform at one side of the room. (246)

In his description there is simplicity to the presentation of fado, with the *fadista*, somewhat discretely, singing off to the side. There is no attempt to distance the performers from the people. Fado is a shared experience and performer and audience are equally contributing to the song. According to Alexandra Naia Klein and Vera Marques Alves (1994, 39), the fado houses during this period were not exclusively fado houses, and attempted to appeal to bourgeois tastes for a sophisticated entertainment venue:

> [These venues] were directed at a bourgeoisie which, starting in the 1920s, made the café's and clubs the centre of their attention, and developed a taste for bohemian locales, modern dances and music. In the late 1920s and in the 1930s the fado salons represented themselves as both sophisticated and well-attended, endeavouring to conform to the contemporary aesthetic standards and life-styles of the public they were increasingly attracting. It was no coincidence, therefore, that the fado was often performed in conjunction with other musical genres also in vogue, such as the fox-trot, tango, waltz and jazz.

This chic, modern salon aesthetic, not only brought fado to a wealthy elite delighting in entertainments from foreign cosmopolitan cities, but helped to legitimatise fado by removing it from its shabby marginalised taverns and bordellos.

The 1940s brought an embrace of fado's traditions, albeit, a sanitised one that sought to 'reconcile [the working class] with bourgeois tastes and values' (Klein and Alves 1994, 40). This shift occurred as the suspicions regarding the lower classes gave way to a glorification of the average worker, who was now seen as the 'guardian of tradition' (Klein and Alves 1994, 41). This resulted in an embrace of fado's origins as a song of the marginalised classes of the Alfama and the Mouraria neighbourhoods of Lisbon. Klein and Alves write:

> It was now possible to give free rein to the expression of nostalgia and transform the fado into a tradition. The appearance of the fado houses as "typical" restaurants in the late 1940s was partly a result of this ideological approach to the fado. The degree of authenticity of the reconstructions of this tradition in the fado houses could be determined according to how "typical" they were. This assessment could now be made with a definite criterion: the more intensely the fado was able to re-create the "popular" environments, in "socially dignified" conditions, the more "typical" and genuine it was. (41)

Attempting to harness the popularity of fado for its own purposes, especially as there were calls for more liberalisation after the defeat of the Nazis, the *Estado Novo* sought to alter the perception of fado's origins, brushing aside the criminal element for a more conservative view of hard-working lower classes.

The strict regulation and censorship over fado, with the song being 'performed in a specific space, to a time-table and in a codified manner [resulted in] the whole performance and atmosphere [becoming] ritualized' (Brito 1994, 33). Fado had developed an 'authentic' tradition that coincided with the values and ideology of the dictatorship and in this way could be accepted by the *Estado Novo* as the de-facto national song. The regime would adopt a cultural policy after 1945 that championed the three 'Fs' of Portuguese culture – Fado, Fatima and Football – to capture the wave of optimism and democratic change, post-war that affected Europe and excited the Portuguese population. The years of control and homogenising policies over fado in these years allowed the regime to propagandise fado in a way that it did not in its first decade-and-a-half in power.

These new venues, commonly known as *Casas Típicas* (Typical Houses) catered to tourists and glorified the folkloric aspects of fado traditions but not the marginal associations (Nery 2004, 229). These places were representative of the regime's growing influence on institutionalised fado, as it sought to curb the growing cry for democracy in the wake of the euphoria at the ending of World War Two. Fado's popularity provided the *Estado Novo* with a ready-made propaganda instrument that it had not yet fully exploited. 'Lisboa à Noite' / 'Lisbon by Night' shows where the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (SPN / National Propaganda Secretariat) would bring in a regime-approved *fadista* along with a *guitarrista* and *violista* to the traditional streets of fado and then bus in a group of tourists for an evening of authentic fado (Cook 2003, 23).

Film

Portuguese cinema during the 1930s and 1940s was characterised by genres of comedy, popular folklore, and historical/literary costume dramas. As a cinema of genres, it differed little from the films of the earlier silent decades that also poached from Portuguese literature, theatre, and historical narratives of Portugal's expansionist past. The continuity of these genres lasted virtually uncontested until the 1960s, and with the emergence of a group of young filmmakers inspired by the world-wide phenomenon of 'new' film movements, genre films gave way to auteur art-cinema.[8] It was, however, during the 1930s and 1940s that the genre based industry consolidated specific themes, representations, conventions and locations in what may be considered the classic period of Portuguese cinema.

A Cinema of Genres

Genre in the Portuguese cinema is not a clear-cut category. The difficulty in genre criticism applied to a small film-producing nation is the limited number of films

[8]The Cinema Novo Português (New Portuguese Cinema) led by producer António da Cunha Telles and directors, Paulo Rocha, Fernando Lopes and António Macedo, were university-educated young men, trained in Paris (Macedo the exception) who sought to engage with young film movements emerging in other countries. After years of isolation from international film festivals, the Cinema Novo Português were eager to take part in cinema trends and debate. They turned to European art cinema and other world art cinema rather than the traditions of genre in the Portuguese cinema for their films. They would receive financial and institutional support in 1968 which shifted the focus of Portuguese cinema from genre to an auteur-centred national industry.

available for classification. For example, there is a gap of eight years between the first comedy and the next film in the genre and then only seven films make up the entire corpus of films. With few films released per year, and in the case of Portugal a historical average of eight films per year, genre categories are fluid and complicated. Of course, all genres are not static, but scholars and critics of Portuguese cinema have varied opinions regarding these classifications. A feature of most of the films, but certainly not all, during the decades of the 1930s and 1940s was the inclusion of fado. These films alone do not constitute a genre although I have identified some of these as fado dramas for the reason that fado is central to the narrative – films about fado itself.

To offer a comparison of the assorted opinions of genre categorisation, I will first provide a sample of critical commentary on this subject. The 1930s and 1940s do provide a fairly consistent body of films for comparison, and across the genres the films present characters who sing. It is this trait most of all that defines this classic period for my study. It also is this aspect of Portuguese cinema at this time that, while acknowledged by critics, does not factor in their classifications or analysis. There is no clear distinction of a musical genre as such, which is curious given the amount of singing encountered in the films.

Director and critic, Eduardo Geada[9] (1981, 66), proposed these four broad genres that are not unlike those I have set out, and does acknowledge the presence of songs:

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[9]A left-leaning intellectual and fierce critic of the Salazar regime, Geada released his first film after the revolution of 1974. A soft-porn film *Sofia e a educação sexual* (*The Sexual Education of Sofia*, 1974) and during the years of transition argued for pornography as an antidote to repression.

populist comedy, rural folklore, historical/patriotic films and songwriter films. Geada does not provide specific examples of which films fit into these genres but from his description of the songwriter films, it is evident that he is referring to fado:

> [I]nseparable from the 'Marialva' tradition and the macho world of sporting heroes, sentimental fatalism in love stories, dramas set in taverns with much drinking and singing, in short a mythology of a poor but happy people. (1981, 66)

Geada could well be referring specifically to *A Severa* (1931) where fado and bullfighting established a linkage for other films, such as *Gado Bravo* / *Wild Cattle* (1934), *Um homem do Ribatejo* / *A Man of the Ribatejo* (1946) and *Ribatejo* (1949). While they share some of the elements he describes, they do not share all. Of the four films only *A Severa* fits the description completely, and love stories of 'sentimental fatalism' can be applied to a great many films during these decades. It is curious that the idiom, 'pobrete mas alegrete' (poor but happy people), an oft-repeated common phrase among the Portuguese, is used here as it is easily a representation that applies to all the Portuguese films and addresses the issue of reconciling the social classes. That, however, is understandable given that fado's melancholy representation of fatalism and nostalgia has often been derided for lending the phrase a sonic expression. The image of the tavern as a site of drinking and singing is again restricted to *A Severa* in this specific case, but in a broader sense covers the majority of films that feature fado. As will be shown in the coming chapters, the tavern and fado house is a significant site community across a variety of films.

Given the scarce number of films and gap in years between productions, it is this variety that is both troublesome for classification and fascinating. Fascinating in that a cursory glance through Portuguese film criticism reveals interesting groupings and categories. João Bénard da Costa (1991, 61) identifies a cycle of films as the 'Ribatejo cycle', which begins with *Gado Bravo* that at the time of its release was described as a 'cowboy' film inspired by Hollywood Tom Mix films (*Album Popular do Filmes Português: Gado Bravo* 1934). For Costa these films feature the Ribatejo plains as backdrop for stories of macho men, bulls, 'wild women' and as popular folklore, was a 'sinister' feature of Portuguese cinema prior to the 1974 revolution (1991, 60-61). Again, one can see how fluid these films are in that *A Severa* fits the description, with the opening set pieces taking place in the Ribatejo with western style vistas and 'cowboys' riding horses and herding bulls. Costa's discussion of *A Severa* invokes the 'poor but happy' nature of the Portuguese people in a costume melodrama and literary adaptation that is resplendent in folkloric traditions (54). Costa's 'Ribatejo cycle' appears a combination of Geada's songwriter films and his rural folklore genre that 'takes advantage of the photogenic nature of the rural landscape, regional costume and local crowds' (1981, 66). But, there are a host of other films that would be included as rural folklore, that again contain all the necessary conventions but without the Ribatejo as location.

One writer divides the films into only two genres: comedies and historical dramas (Torres 1974, 13). António Roma Torres in his book on the Portuguese cinema in the years preceding and including the 1974 revolution, lists under the category, 'filmes histórico,' *A Severa*, *Bocage* (José Leitão de Barros, 1936), *Camões* (José Leitão

de Barros, 1946), and *Inês de Castro* (José Leitão de Barros, 1944). These films, he argues, display nationalist concerns that either are drawn from literary sources or historical figures (13). The historical films were also commonly known, both admiringly and derogatively, as 'greybeard' films (Ministry of Mass Communications 1975, 3) and were provided with larger budgets for lavish production values in hopes that they would appeal to international audiences, especially in Brazil. Eduardo Geada (1981, 66) identifies these films as 'exalting the national values usually based on idealised biographies of exemplary heroes, these films had as their objective the validation [...] of the romantic iconography of the traditional Portuguese "spirit"'. This was particularly evident with *Camões*, a film that dramatised the life of the celebrated poet Luís Vaz de Camões who wrote the epic poem, *Os Lusiádas*, which exalted in a fantastical narrative the voyages of discovery. This film and other 'greybeard' films fit the national imaginary promoted by the *Estado Novo*. They are comparable in style, though not quite in scope, to costume dramas from major producing nations at that time, and also feature popular folkloric traditions in its appeal to a national audience. Torres' category is broad and I have no objections to it as such, but he makes no allowance for a number of films in his two categories, such as *Fado,história d'uma cantadeira* (1947), *Capas Negras* (1947) and the Ribatejo titles.

I am inclined toward the criticism of Luís de Pina (1977) who nuanced the debate of genres around several themes and a fluid classification that accounts for a variety of representations within the films. Therefore, I offer fado as a defining feature for classification of Portuguese films that cuts across the types of genres that have been discussed. While it does not appear in all films, it is adapted to the convention and style

of comedies, popular folklore, costume dramas and melodramas. Included here are the films that draw on fado for narrative inspiration, such as *A Severa*, *Fado*, *Capas Negras*, and *Cantiga da Rua*. As such they can be described as fado dramas, while still representing popular culture, in this case the song-form of fado with its associative history, iconography and performance practice. While the above films are urban films (Lisbon or Coimbra), the Ribatejo and other rural-based films (*Aldeia da Roupa Branca* (1938), for example) also share the common trait of presenting popular folklore. Fado is a common feature, although only tangentially in these films, and draws on more diverse aspects of fado's own traditions that are not displayed in the fado dramas. However, the basic generic convention is the celebration of folkloric customs, values and traditions. Songs feature prominently, as well as dances and brass-band music. The cowboys, gypsies, bullfighters, and singers mix together in the city or the village to promote the harmony of community that is central to all the films during these decades.

In the case of the comedies, there is little by way of disagreement or difficulty in classification and definition. The name applied to this genre varies – *comédia popular portuguesa* (António 1988), *comédia revisteira* (Pina 1977), and *comédia à portuguesa* (Granja 2001) – but the films included are mostly consistent. The accepted designation has settled on *comédia à portuguesa*, and includes 7 films from *A canção de Lisboa* (1933) to *O Grande Elias* (1950). The defining feature of these films is an emphasis on a specific Portuguese style of humour influenced by the Portuguese revue, *teatro de revista*, in films that were, more or less, musicals (Pina 1986, 76). Centred on life in the *bairros* (neighbourhoods) of Lisbon, the *comédias* feature a mix of lower and upper-class characters who by the end of the film have come together in some form of happy

union, often through marriage. Frequently the plots turn on the inversion of social hierarchies so that lower-class characters pretend to be rich, while the upper-class downplay their privileged position. A blending of tradition with the modern is a main feature of the *comédia à portuguesa* and demonstrates that village ideals, for example, can be easily and successfully transposed to the modern urban centre of Lisbon (Granja 2000, 196). Traditional values of family, patriarchy and hierarchy are rigidly adhered to, along with a fascination for modern technology, such as the radio and the motor car.

Harmony is the goal, for both individual characters and the community as a whole, and singing is often the expression of a harmonious community spirit. This has frequently resulted in the misleading classification of the *comédia à portuguesa* as a genre of films that includes fado, but in reality not all the films belonging to this tradition feature songs. *O pai tirano* / *The Tyrannical Father* (António Lopes Ribeiro, 1941) and *O leão da Estrela* / *The Lion of Estrela* (Arthur Duarte, 1947) do not include characters who sing, but these films still contain all the generic narrative themes associated with the *comédia*. *A menina da rádio* / *The Girl on the Radio* (Arthur Duarte, 1944) features many songs but no examples of fado. While songs and performances of fado, in particular, can be found in the soundtracks of the *comédia à portuguesa*, they are not a necessary feature of the genre.

National Industry

Interestingly, the relationship between the *Estado Novo* and the film industry offers up contradictory messages. The films and filmmakers are said to be in step with

the regime's ideological cultural program while also of little importance to the dictatorship. The propaganda ministry is said to influence the style and narrative substance of the films, while the government is shown to offer little or no financial help to the industry. And Salazar himself is said to have despised the film industry because it was a 'horribly expensive' media that offered little propaganda value, unlike television which the regime promoted far more readily and eagerly than they ever did cinema. With these contradictions in mind, the following introduction to the Portuguese cinema of the 1930s and 1940s will highlight these contradictions but my own conclusions regarding the representation of fado in the films in respect of the dictatorship will be reserved for the conclusion of this dissertation.

The men that would come to dominate the film industry in Portugal had roots in literary and journalistic magazine publishing. Most would go on to direct films while one would join the government of António Salazar. These men presided over two decades of Portuguese film that critics, such as Armando Aragão writing in *Sight in Sound* in 1948, would deride for its lack of artistic quality and compliance with the government cultural project (36). António Ferro (1895-1956) and José Leitão de Barros (1896-1967) worked on the modernist literary magazine *Orpheu* in 1915, while António Lopes Ribeiro (1908-1995) founded the cinema magazine *Kino*. This magazine ran from 1930 to 1931 and according to João Bénard da Costa (1991, 48) reflected Lopes Ribeiro's view that cinema should strive to art and also that the newly established *Estado Novo* government offered an opportunity for the cinema to become vital in the country. The creation of a government department of cinema (Inspeccão dos Espectáculos) in 1927 allowed Lopes Ribeiro, through his personal friendship with the

head of the department, to travel to Russia in 1929 to study filmmaking. Then in 1930 António Lopes Ribeiro, José Leitão de Barros and Chianca de Garcia were placed on a government commission that was directed to study the feasibility of establishing a film studio for the express purpose of producing sound films. The commission, not only recommended a studio, but also the establishment of a national film archive (*Cinemateca Portuguesa*). The studio, the *Companhia Portuguesa de Filmes Sonoros Tobis Klangfilm* (*Tobis Portuguesa*), was created with government funding as well as in partnership with the German company Tobis Klangfilm, who supplied the sound technology equipment. There was precedence in turning to foreign film expertise. Among the first film studios to appear in Portugal, *Invicta* in 1917, *Caldeville* in 1920 and *Fortuna* in 1922, all turned to foreign directors to head film production. Frenchmen Roger Lion, Georges Pallu and Maurice Mariaud, along with Italian Rino Lupo, established many of the generic tropes and narratives that influenced Portuguese sound film. Of particular interest to this study is the Mariaud film, *O fado* (1923), which used fado as a central narrative feature for the first time and was inspired by the Malhoa painting.

The 1930s began with a switch to sound film technology in cinemas, and for a country such as Portugal this would be a very expensive transition. The film industry in Portugal is historically a small one that produces few feature films per year. However, this shift was preceded by a boom in cinema theatres opening in city centres throughout the country during the later years of the 1920s. This boom followed a significant shift in population migration from the villages to the cities leading to film becoming a major entertainment attraction (Costa 1991, 49). The popularity of film, and more significantly

by the end of the decade, sound film, resulted in MGM, RKO, and Paramount opening distribution branches in Portugal. As the economics of cinema in Portugal adjusted favourably, two Portuguese studios, *Lisboa Filme* (1928) and *Ulysseia Filme* (1929) were established to take advantage of the growing trade in talking-pictures, specifically, the distribution, dubbing, and subtitling for the large Lusophone worldwide market. This was followed by multiple-language films produced by Paramount in their Paris studios with Portuguese film and theatre talent. However, this most promising development did not receive strong government support, promotion, or through legislative means, a way to curb the dominating presence of Hollywood films in the country's cinemas. These decades are viewed by commentators of Portuguese cinema as a time of contradictory government policy toward film production resulting in years of false protection, mediocre films, and an industry that espoused the ideological values of a regime that did little to champion film culture in the country. The growing popularity and foreign investment did not, however, result in a favourable financial and legislative situation for the industry, as the world-wide Depression affected Portugal's economy and Salazar's reticence to fund feature film production.

While Salazar was lukewarm to cinema, António Ferro was a vocal proponent of cinema. In 1931, prior to being appointed as propaganda minister, he organized a European congress of drama and music appreciation in Lisbon where he screened *A Severa* (1931) and promoted traditional cultural activities such as fado, bullfighting and rural dances. The film also placed these more traditional activities on display which demonstrated Ferro's modernist/traditionalist sensibility. As José Pedro Zúquete (2005, 52) states, the congress provided him with an opportunity to showcase a Portugal that

‘assumed the inheritance of its past, but it also looked to the challenges of the present’ for the European cultural elite. Ferro sought the promotion of a Portuguese cinema keeping with the regime's overall cultural project that ‘transmitted the healthy values of Christian honesty and the poor but honourable family’ (Pinto 1992, 90). However, the contradiction of this policy in relation to the actual financial and legislative support provided, especially if placed alongside the propaganda models of Portugal’s fascist dictatorial contemporaries, is puzzling. Jorge Leitão Ramos (1994, 387) posits the possibility that Salazar’s rural conservatism may have resulted in his shunning the grand spectacles that the Nazi propaganda machine put on screens, for example, along with his stated aversion to cinema as a ‘horribly expensive’ industry.

Unlike the other fascist dictatorships where cinema enjoyed considerable funding, the Portuguese cinema was not supported grandly by the regime. This despite the propaganda use made of documentary shorts, and the ideological sensibility in keeping with Salazar’s values and ideals that has been argued to be present in the films of the 1930s and 1940s. The genres that came to dominate film production were rooted in folkloric traditions and mythologies, historical figures, and the established clash of the rural and the urban. The Portuguese cinema of these decades also became a popular cinema of song, where fado with its own traditions, history, iconographies, and stars would feature prominently.

There were, however, two feature films produced with clear propagandistic intentions. One of the first projects undertaken by António Ferro as head of the SPN was to script a film that glorified the revolution of 1926, which eventually led to the

establishment of Salazar as head of the government. *A Revolução de Maio* / *The May Revolution* (António Lopes Ribeiro, 1936) did not specifically deal with the revolution but with life under Salazar 10 years later. The film's protagonist is a communist typographer who returns to Portugal in order to incite the people to revolution. But the workers he attempts to rally for his cause explain to him that their standard of life has never been better since Salazar assumed control. The young communist agitator is eventually convinced that life in Portugal is idyllic and attends the May 28th anniversary rally, where Salazar spoke of 'God, Motherland, and Family.' The film ends with Salazar asking the crowd, 'Who follows me?' and the crowd responding, 'all of us, all of us.' *Feitiço do império* / *Under the Empire's Spell* (António Lopes Ribeiro, 1940), was funded by the department entrusted with disseminating government colonial policy via film productions, the *Missão Cinematigráfica Colonial*. Luís, the son of wealthy émigré Portuguese living in the USA, is sent to Portugal by his father so that he may know the country of his ancestors. His trip will not only take him to Lisbon, but also to Angola because of business interests and colonial aspirations. The film plays on notions of national identity in line with the colonial policies of the *Estado Novo*. While in Lisbon, Luís is chauffeured by Chico do Taxi whose fanaticism for Benfica FC and fado introduces Luís to the national obsessions. The film puts forward the view of Portugal and the colonies as one nation (Ribeiro 1983, 412), thus championing the regime's foreign policy, while embracing domestic policies of popular traditionalism. According to Torgal (1995, 334), the film exposes the Portuguese colonial racism of the time, in that Luís claims to now better understand Angola because he has now developed a

fondness for Lisbon and Portuguese culture through his interaction with Chico do Taxi and his love of football and fado.[10]

Although film production was not a priority for the Salazar regime, the same cannot be said of film exhibition. The model of the vertically integrated film industry that had prevailed in the world's major film producing countries by the 1930s never existed in Portugal. The relative economic health of the Portuguese film industry's exhibition sector served as a justification for the government's neglectful stance toward the country's film producers. In fact, it was not until 1948 that the government legislated the protection of Portuguese film production. Law 2027 established a fund to finance production, while mandating the exhibition of Portuguese films. Exhibitors were expected to devote one full week out of every six to the screening of domestic films. However, the law merely demonstrated the government's lack of interest in the national film industry by underfunding the production capital (approximately $140,000 US), and applying no penalty to exhibitors who failed to respect the law.

[10]There are two fado performances in the film featuring Berta Cardoso and Alfredo Marceineiro, who perform in an outdoor courtyard of a fado house. Unfortunately, I was unable to view these films during my research in Lisbon and only can comment via secondary research.

Chapter Two

Fado Interludes

Introduction

The films discussed in this chapter feature fado songs peripheral to the narrative, and differ from other films analysed in this dissertation in that they focus less on life in Lisbon and place fado outside the traditional urban neighbourhoods synonymous with the song. These popular folklore films, mentioned in Chapter 1 as rural-based or Ribatejo films (so called because of the ranching region where they are set), celebrate a picturesque Portugal of bullfighting and Ribatejo *campinos*[11] (cowboys). Fado, with few exceptions, is sung in open-air spaces along with other popular song-forms and music. While there is still a nod to the importance of performance space (a fado house features in one scene) and performance practice, the more salient feature of the representation of fado is in its national cultural importance.

[11]The *campino* features in several of the films in this dissertation and was promoted by the *Estado Novo* as a positive symbol of masculinity.

Gado Bravo

Gado Bravo / *Wild Cattle* (António Lopes Ribeiro, 1934) was Lopes Ribeiro's first feature film. His earlier work had been documentary shorts which he would continue to produce as part of the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (SPN / National Propaganda Secretariat) and *Sociedade Portuguesa de Actualidades Cinematográficas* (SPAC / Portuguese Society of Motion Picture News) sponsored series, *O Jornal Português*, showcasing the *Estado Novo*'s public works projects and colonial policies. Lopes Ribeiro had also been active as a critic and editor of cinephile magazines. He was a founding member of the influential *Imagem,* a magazine that ran from 1928 to 1932, before leaving to begin his own title, *Kino*, in 1930.[12] The split from *Imagem* was due to differences of opinion regarding the future direction of Portuguese cinema. The argument was whether the film industry should look to the new government (soon to be branded as the *Estado Novo*) as a potential ally, or to maintain that cinema should remain removed from political influence (Costa 1991, 48). João Bénard da Costa does not explicitly state which position is adopted by Lopes Ribeiro, but given the directors subsequent involvement with the *Estado Novo,* such as directing the propaganda feature films *A Revolucão de Maio* and *Feitaço de Imperio* discussed in the previous chapter, it would seem unlikely that he took the position of independence from state co-operation.

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[12] Cottinelli Telmo, director of *A canção de Lisboa* worked with Lopes Ribeiro at *Imagem* and followed him to *Kino*.

Gado Bravo was an international co-production of sorts, as many of the crew and cast were German émigrés fleeing the Nazis.[13] Max Nosseck acted as a supervisor to António Lopes Ribeiro who was undertaking his first feature-length film with *Gado Bravo*. The cast featured Olly Gebauer (Nina) and Siegfried Arno (Jackson), while Hans May contributed music to the film's score. [14] João Bénard da Costa (1991, 61) has gone so far as to suggest that the film's 'spectacular visuals' are due entirely to the work and influence of the Germans. Costa also hints that the question as to who actually directed the film, whether it was Nosseck or Lopes Ribeiro, is open to debate (61).

An ethnographic fascination with the day-to-day activities of the *campinos* herding cattle, stylistically clashes with the more staid cinematography of the main love-triangle narrative. The Ribatejo region is presented as a wild place, where men engage in violent acts of machismo. Quick edits, high and low-camera angles, and dramatic shifts in point-of-view of the *campinos* riding horses dangerously close to stampeding bulls, show the men as macho exponents of *Mariavalismo*. The frenetic pace of the editing is startling in its attempt to capture the violence and danger of ranching in the Ribatejo, and alongside the slower, almost dull editing of the village and manor-house scenes is

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[13] The various German cast and crew, who worked on the film, had previously worked with Arthur Duarte, originally an actor who would eventually become an influential director of Portuguese comedies. Duarte had worked in Germany during the 1920s up to 1933. It was Duarte who acted as the go-between contact between the film's producer, Hamilcar da Costa, and the Germans (Hagener 2007, 29-30).
[14] Nosseck would eventually work in Hollywood directing *Dillinger* (1945), *Black Beauty* (1946), and *The Return of Rin Tin Tin* (1947), among others. Siegfried Arno, who plays Nina's talent agent Jackson, would also move to Hollywood, where he appeared in *The Palm Beach Story* (Preston Sturges, 1942) and *Up In Arms* (Elliot Nugent, 1944). Hans May had a long and prolific career as a film composer, a notable film being *Brighton Rock* (John Boulting, 1947).

jarring. However, the goal in both cases is clearly too visually represent the various customs and traditions of rural Portugal.

Shortly after the film's release on 8 August, Lopes Ribeiro wrote fulsomely of his directorial intention to place on screen a celebration of rural Portugal for the Portuguese all over the world. In this 'letter to the Portuguese overseas,' Lopes Ribeiro (1934) states that the film will alleviate their longing for Portugal, in effect 'matar saudades' (kill their longing), by providing them 'with the very things that give them pleasure, but that they long for the most: fado, horses, and bullfights' (e se ocupam das coisas que te dão prazer e que não tens aí: o fado, os cavalos e as touradas).

The critical reaction to the film was not as ebullient as Lopes Ribeiro's own press, but critics were generally complimentary. Armando Aragão (1948, 38) praised the film, claiming that it was one of only two early Portuguese sound-era films that exhibited exceptional technical and artistic merit, the other being the silent short, *Douro, Faina Fluvial* / *Labour on the Douro River* (Manoel de Oliveira, 1931). Aragão, in an article that is negative toward Portuguese cinema, does not offer in-depth analysis of the film beyond this accolade. Specifically commenting on the fado scene, José da Natividade Gaspar (1934, 4) reviewing the film for the film journal, *Cinéfilo*, finds the scene to be 'forced and unnecessary,' but otherwise is positive about the film. And in his review of the film, Alves Costa (1934) praises the film for its visual beauty and high technical standard (a view shared by all critics), but finds the film's romantic storyline to be superficial. Interestingly, he commends the work of Hans May for the music, but makes no reference to any of the Portuguese songs.

The music in the film is addressed specifically in an article published at the time of the film's release. The Portuguese composer, Luís de Freitas Branco, discusses his own work on the film in the magazine, *Movimento*. He talks about how positive an experience it was to have worked with a professional film composer such as Hans May and is generally complimentary about the production, as a whole. He is aware that his job is to provide the film with 'authentic' Portuguese music:

> My first job addressing the music composition for *Gado Bravo*, was to study the folkloric themes inherent in the subject matter. (Por isso, o meu primeiro trabalho, ao abordar a composição da parte portuguesa da música do *Gado Bravo*, foi o estudo e a classificação dos temas folclóricos impostos pelo assunto.) (Branco 1934)

Luís de Freitas Branco is clear in his intention to explore, through music, a sense of 'Portugueseness.' In this, he is echoing the remarks of his director in that the music should strive to celebrate traditions and customs specific to the Ribatejo region. He comments that the fado written for the character of Pascoal to sing, rather than represent current trends in the song, which may reference such activities as football, should be more in line with classic fado that tells a more personal story of hardship and suffering (Branco 1934). The fado of Pascoal recalls the fado of the beggars that travelled around the country, singing for meagre earnings, relating stories directly drawn from their own life experiences.

Wealthy rancher and celebrity bullfighter, Manuel (Raul de Carvalho), is caught in a love triangle between Nina (Olly Gebauer) and Branca (Nita Brandão). Nina is a German cabaret singer whom he meets in a nightclub in Lisbon. While driving with her manager north to perform in Porto, they become lost in the Ribatejo region where Manuel finds them stranded by the side of a road and invites them to stay at his ranch. This complicates his impending engagement to Branca, the sister of his best-friend, Arthur (Arthur Duarte). In choosing between the two women, Manuel is given the option of being swayed by the modern extravagances of the foreigner (a car, phonograph, and glamorous evening gowns), and the traditional, albeit upper-class, Portuguese woman (Branca is often referred to as 'naturally Portuguese').

The film opens in a Lisbon nightclub, establishing Manuel's celebrity. The focus for much of the scene is on Manuel. The camera tracks along as he enters the club, leaves his hat at the coat-check and is seated at a central table. The camera continues tracking following Manuel's gaze to the stage where Nina is singing in German, her performance only of interest because Manuel is clearly attracted to the singer. His entrance draws the attention of the patrons, with women gazing lovingly at him, and one admirer comments in broken English, 'Wonderful' - an indication that this nightclub is not quite Portuguese, but somehow foreign, striving to be something else entirely. Soon the commotion around Manuel overtakes the song and Nina's two piano accompanists break into a salutary fanfare in Manuel's honour. Nina, clearly annoyed, exits the stage.

This scene is significant in the way it visually and sonically indicates that the film is focusing on only those elements that are Portuguese. Unlike the fado that follows

shortly after this nightclub scene, Nina's cabaret song is dismissed (Figure 4). The camera focuses on Nina, in particular, only when Manuel becomes aware of her, with a shot/reverse shot between the two exchanging smiles (Figure 5). Nina-as-singer is incidental to Nina-as-sexual attraction. Nina is the exotic, sexual temptation enticing Manuel away from the 'very Portuguese' and wholesome Branca.

Nina's song ignored (Figure 4)

Nina attracted to Manuel (Figure 5)

Shortly after arriving at the villa, Manuel, Nina, and Jackson (Nina's manager) are drinking wine out on the terrace. From off-screen a *guitarra* is heard and draws the attention of Manuel. He welcomes Pascoal (Alberto Reis) to the table as he strolls into frame strumming his *guitarra*. Pascoal is introduced to Nina as a fellow singer, and says that he will sing her a fado. Dressed in a dark suit, that had unofficially been adopted as the costume for male *fadistas* by the 1930s (Brito 1994, 33), his appearance is rough, complete with an unshaven face. Pascoal bears a resemblance to the *fadista* in the Malhoa painting discussed in Chapter 1, as well as to Custódia, Severa's trusted friend in the 1931 film. His appearance alone connects him to the *fadistas* of fado's marginal associations, and yet, he is welcomed by the aristocratic Manuel as a friend and a respected singer.

Not only did the lyrics and the depth of emotion in the singer's voice, particularly in the rise-and-fall of the melismatic vocalisations, add to the effect of melancholia, but the dark suit and dress contributed visually to fado's representation of sadness and regret. In the dim, candle-lit taverns and fado houses of Lisbon, these outfits would have added to the presentation of a melancholy singer who has suffered greatly. In this outdoor, sunny context Pascoal's appearance is in sharp contrast to Nina's white dress and Jackson's cream suit. José Gaspar, reviewing the film for the Portuguese magazine *Cinefilo*, suggests that Pascoal's appearance as a down-on-his-luck *fadista* is unnecessarily dishevelled to accentuate the suffering of fado (1934, 4). The garden setting in bright sunlight with bushes and trees and white marble columns and statues, provides a backdrop that Pascoal can stand apart from. This is further emphasised by his unshaven face, and Manuel and Jackson's clean-shaven, groomed appearance (Figure

6). Even Pascoal's top button on his shirt is undone, while Manuel's shirt is smartly buttoned to his neck. The overall effect is to suggest, without any exposition, (we are only given his name and 'occupation') that he is down on his luck. Nonetheless, the division in social and economic class is signalled through costume.

Pascoal singing fado (Figure 6)

Pascoal also recalls the '*mendigo cantor*' (the singing beggar) and the '*rapaz e o cego*' (the boy and the blind beggar) figures who emerged in the 19th century and who would prove crucial in helping to grow fado's popularity throughout the country, bringing the song to communities and villages in rural Portugal (Nery 2004, 95) (Figures 7 and 8). The fados that these travelling minstrels performed were varied. They improvised lyrics, often recalling their own life stories and hardships, or sang more traditional fados. And, demonstrating that film had an influence in growing the popularity of fado, in the early thirties they sang fados from the film, *A Severa* (1931)

(Gallop 1936, 262). The *cego* and *mendigo fadistas* often improvised lyrics to well-known fado tunes that were autobiographical stories of hardship (Vernon 1998, 20).

'O rapaz e o cego', E.J. Maia, 1859 (taken from Nery 2004, 95) (Figure 7)

Mendiga, 1906, photograph by Jorge Almeida Lima (taken from Nery 2004, 89) (Figure 8)

As the popularity of fado grew, these *fadistas* were no longer looked upon as only beggars, but now as accepted performers, and sang at all manner of functions and social gatherings such as weddings, funerals, and religious festivals (Vernon 1998, 19). However, the professionalisation of fado would go some way to marginalise amateur fado, creating a division within fado among the amateurs and the professionals as to who were the 'authentic' purveyors of tradition. This division, along with the image of fado being sung in the streets and village squares, remained a powerful popular representation of fado that would feature prominently in the films, as will be discussed in this chapter and in subsequent chapters. It would also be co-opted for tourism promotion by the 1950s with the 'Lisboa a noite' (Lisbon By Night) government sponsored attractions where staged fado performances for bussed in tourists would take place in the Alfama and Mouraria.

Pascoal's fado relates how he has come to be a vagabond *fadista* and is very personal:

Eu também fui cavaleiro,	(I was once a cowboy,)
Brilhei também nas toiradas...	(Famed in the bullring ...)
Mas hoje apenas me encanto	(But today I sing)
Na chora das guitarradas.	(The tears of a guitarrista.)

Nele apago esta lembrança	(I try to forget)
Que me entristece e corroi.	(What saddens me.)
A saudade é um suplício	(The torture of nostalgia)
Que vai matando e não doi!	(What will not kill and hurt!)

They also explain Pascoal's predicament and act as words of warning to Manuel. His relationship with Nina could lead to a fate similar to Pascoal. As Pascoal sings, the two potential lovers seem only interested in each other, oblivious to the song's mournful tune and bitter meaning (Figure 9). Their flirtation is further accented through a series of shot/reverse shot close-ups. The sun shines on them as they look into each other's eyes and smile, again oblivious to the message of Pascoal's fado, or perhaps, mischievously delighting in a potential torrid love affair. There are echoes here of the scandalous affair between Maria Severa and the Count de Marialva, an affair central to the mythology of fado. Like the Count, Manuel is an aristocrat and celebrated bullfighter, flirting with becoming involved romantically with a woman outside his social circle, and, perhaps more significantly, outside his national circle. Nina's foreignness will always be magnified by her diction, her dress, and her sexual openness. This will contrast sharply with the 'naturally Portuguese' demeanour and dress of Branca.

Pascoal singing fado for Manuel and Nina (Figure 9)

While Manuel and Nina are not ignoring the fado, the wider appeal of fado is emphasised with a cut-away to *campinos* (cowboys) appearing from within the mansion

and surroundings to listen to Pascoal's fado (Figure 10). Pascoal's fado acts as both an improvised fado reminiscent of the *mendigo cantor* and also as an important narrative device. Its presence in the film at first signals that the performance of a fado is required for the added benefit of promoting Portugal's 'national song' and a further display of Portuguese culture and folklore. Pascoal's out-of-nowhere entrance and quick introduction leads one to view the song as an interlude, a break in the plot. However, the song's narrational implication is brought to light when the lyrics are heard. Drawn to the fado, the song is accorded the attention, and respect, that is not shown toward the foreign cabaret song.

Campinos listening to Pascoal sing fado (Figure 10)

Maria Papoila **and** ***João Ratão*****: A Soldier's Song**

Portugal officially entered the First World War in 1916 with the political leadership believing that this participation would help solidify Portuguese colonial interests in Africa, result in popular support within the country, and also draw

favourable support from its European allies for the country's fledgling republican government. According to Felipe Ribeiro de Meneses (2004, 135), participation in the war offered the republicans an opportunity to frame the participation around republican ideals, thereby, '...twin[ning] republicanism with patriotism, [and allowing the government] to demonstrate, through concrete actions, the value of equality, a vital component of the republican creed'. However, this turned out not to be the case, as the war had a devastating impact on the country. At the request of England, Portugal's oldest ally, a force was assembled, the *Corpo Expedicionário Português* (Portuguese Expeditionary Corps), with some 50,000 troops sent to France in 1917 to fight on the Western Front.

Before looking specifically at the impact of the war on Portugal, it is necessary to provide some context regarding the 1910 republican revolution. The coup which brought an end to the Portuguese monarchy has been labelled a 'Lisbon revolution.' The rise of an urban middle class and working class played against the traditional power structure of the monarchy, aristocracy, and clergy. David Birmingham (1993, 147) argues that this literate Lisbon republican movement had little, if any, support from the illiterate rural population, who possessed scant awareness of the monarchy, or the subsequent republican governments.

The clergy, however, continued to maintain some measure of influence over the rural population due to the people's devout religiosity, so that information and propaganda concerning the Portuguese war effort, was shaped by opponents of the republicans (Meneses 2004, 178). The crippling debt and financial strain that the war

placed on the country left vast shortages in supplies and food, both at home and for the soldiers in France, that led to food riots throughout the country. These internal divisions did not affect how the soldiers were regarded. The men in France were,

> ...made up of gallant and patriotic men who, despite having been sent to war against their will by a corrupt and demagogical government, were nevertheless willing to sacrifice their lives to protect the good name of their country, in an act of selflessness which would inspire future generations. (Meneses 2004, 191)

Regardless of how the war itself was thought of, the national sentiment was clearly on the side of the soldiers.

Fado during World War One played a significant role in framing and responding to feelings around the country's involvement. Lyricists and *fadistas* who were opposed to the militaristic aims of the government, and held leftist political ideas, sang fados that denounced the fervent patriotism of God, country and the military (Nery 2004, 162). When the war ended and the soldiers returned home, fado expressed the feelings of trauma and loss, eschewing the political for a more personal narrative (Nery 2004, 165). And then, in the 1930s when the *Estado Novo* came to power, the denunciation of patriotic militaristic nationalism from leftist lyricists and *fadistas* inevitably clashed with Salazar's government. With the censorship of lyrics imposed by the *Estado Novo*, all anti-war references were expunged from fado so as not to invoke a negative connotation towards the state (Nery 2004, 165-66). However, fado lyrics could, and did, remain

focused on the suffering of the men in war, longing to return to their families and homes, a traditional trope that can be linked to other national *saudade* metaphors. It is this national narrative that will be discussed with reference to the representation of fado in the films, *Maria Papoila* (Leitão de Barros, 1937) and *João Ratão* (Jorge Brum do Canto, 1940).

Maria Papoila (Leitão de Barros, 1937) follows a young girl from a northern village who travels to Lisbon and finds work as a maid in a boarding house. Eduardo Fernandes (Eduardo da Silveira) is a young soldier from a wealthy family who stays at the boarding house when on leave. Maria Papoila (Mirita Casimiro) meets and falls in love with Eduardo while at a fair with friends, the two never actually meeting in the boarding house. Comedy is drawn from this situation, while the melodrama is wrought from the unlikely union of a young couple from different classes – a union that will have to end when they discover the truth about their situations. With the action shifting to the resort seaside town of Cascais, Eduardo is wrongly accused of stealing jewellery, and Maria, in order to save him from prosecution, tells the court that he spent the night with her, shaming herself but saving him from jail. The truth behind the missing jewellery is then uncovered, and a happy return to northern Portugal ends with Maria and Eduardo soon to be married.

Fado in this film has nothing whatsoever to do with the film's main narrative arc. On one level the fado interlude in this film is a diversion of sorts, both diegetic and non-diegetic, distracting soldiers from routine duties within the film narrative, and providing

the film's audience with a moment for a performance by a celebrated actor of the *teatro de revista* for the first time in a Portuguese film. Estevão Amarante (1894-1951) had begun performing in the *teatro de revista* at the age of six and would become beloved for his comedic skills and singing of fado. He enjoyed major success in the *teatro de revista* with the show, 'O Novo Mundo' (New World), and in 1916 with his performance of the fado, 'O Fado do Ganga' (The Denim Fado). He established his own company with his wife, Luisa Satanela, in 1918, becoming one of the more influential producers of the *teatro de revista*. He appeared in only a handful of films, his most prominent role coming in *O Grande Elias* (Arthur Duarte, 1950), a film that will be discussed in chapter 4.

But, on another level, this fado sequence also offers the soldiers a moment for introspection, nostalgia, and a greater understanding of patriotism. Amarante plays a veteran soldier of World War One, and he is not so much a character in the film – he appears with no name given to his character – but is an everyman veteran, representing the men who did not come back to Portugal alive, and those that survived the trenches of Flanders. Prompted to sing by a young recruit, the fado is a reminder of what it means to be a Portuguese soldier. João Bénard Da Costa (2003, 296) argues that the fado in *Maria Papoila* is 'supposedly patriotic,' and serves to evoke a more profound sense of loss of life. Given that the war was viewed negatively, at least as it pertained to the republican governments, the sacrifice of the men who fought in France is commemorated and not the political aims of the government.

Amarante is handed a *guitarra*, and sitting atop a bale of hay, he begins to play the opening instrumental (Figure 11). With Amarante positioned in the foreground, just off-centre, in a front-of-stage presentation, the rural, folkloric setting appears to be adopting a theatrical mise-en-scene perhaps drawing on the audience's familiarity with Amarante's *teatro de revista* performances. The bale of hay suggests that the singer is connected to more earthy environments, an association that will be made more evident as the scene unfolds.

Estavão Amarante singing fado (Figure 11)

The fado draws men to hear Amarante, in the same way that fado brings the *campinos* to Pascoal in *Gado Bravo*. From various parts of the camp the men are shown running across the Parade Ground to where the fado is being performed, grouped around a *guitarrista* (Figure 12), and standing shoulder-to-shoulder along a wall (Figure 13).

Soldiers gathering to hear fado (Figure 12)

Standing shoulder-to-shoulder (Figure 13)

Fado, in this instance, unites the men as a community, even if they are unsure about their place in this community. As the lyrics make clear, they are brought together for a specific nationalist function, a patriotism that conceives the nation as historically significant:

Vais aprender a ser homem	(You will learn how to become a man)
Para defenderes Portugal.	(To defend Portugal)
[...]	
Que a Pátria vem	(What is the nation)
Nessa bandeira imponente	(In this imposing flag)
Da côr do sol poente	(The colour of the sun)
Da côr do mar e da esperança	(The colour of the sea and hope)

The lyrics suggest that the fado functions as a song of patriotic fervour, attempting to imbue the men with strong feelings of bravery, courage and a strident nationalism, a direct response to the young recruit who seemed uncertain about his role in the military. The nation is invoked through the symbol of an 'imposing flag,' working against the reality of a small country pressed against the sea at the edge of Europe. The sea, a trope often referenced in Portuguese culture and national identity, extends the nation metaphor to play on traditional associations of expansion and pride – the small country that discovered the world through valiant sea expeditions. The soldier acts as a de-facto representative for the historical and mythologised Portuguese discoverer and sailor, the figure of migration and colonialism.

Coinciding with patriotism is the story of the Portuguese in World War One, a frame of reference also brought out in the lyrics.

É teu dever	(It is your duty)
Saber morrer como um forte	(To meet death with strength)
Não tenhas medo da morte	(Do not be afraid of death)
Que só se more uma vez	(You only die once)
Soldado lá trincheira	(The soldier in the trench)
Se vir's o porta bandeira	(If you see a flag on the door)
Tombar com ela no chão	(Fall with her to the floor)
Levanta-a logo soldado	(Stand straight soldier)
Num trapo verde e encarnado	(With a green and red cloth)
Tu tens a Pátria na mão	(You have the nation in your hand)
Que a Pátria vem	(What is the nation)
Nessa bandeira imponente	(In this imposing flag)
Da côr do sol poente	(The colour of the sun)
Da côr do mar e da esperança	(The colour of the sea and hope)
Defende-a bem	(To defend well)
Para isso tens a espingarda	(That is why you have a gun)
E vestes aquela farda	(And wear the dress uniform)
Com que vencemos na França	(With that you won in France)
Ó Zé Ninguém	(Unknown Soldier)
Que és militar	(You are the military)
Se a terra mãe	(Mother country)
Tu quer's honrar	(You want to honour)
Seque o exemplo	(Set an example)
Dum soldado com ralé	(The soldier among many)
Que morreu e está num templo	(Who died and is honoured)
Mas ninguem sabe quem é	(But no one knows who he is)

The song was titled, 'O Fado do Zé Ninguém (Fado of the Unknown Soldier)', and there is an ambivalence toward war that undercuts the patriotic message, particularly with the figure of the Unknown Soldier, or the average man who goes off to

fight for his country, not a hero or nobleman, but an everyman.[15] Given the negative associations of Portugal's involvement in the war, the patriotism is placed solely on the figure of the soldier, both known (the present military) and the unknown (those who died in France). The soldier, who stands straight, 'with a green and red cloth,' is the embodiment of the nation ('You hold the nation in your hand') in the First World War, and not the state who sent the men to the trenches for political opportunism.

Visually and lyrically, the scene strives for identification with the average soldier. The group framings emphasise the camaraderie of the military, the strength of the collective while the lyrics speak of duty, defending the nation, and 'meet[ing] death with strength.' However, as the lyrics move toward very specific referencing of World War One and the trenches in France, the privileging of individuals becomes prominent. When Amarante sings of the 'soldier in the trench,' who should 'Stand straight [...]/ With a green and red rag / You have the nation in your hand', the camera cuts to a medium close-up of a young soldier in shallow focus with the blurred faces of others around him (Figure 14). Perhaps this fado is responding to the negative pronouncements of fado as a corrupting song, especially corrupting of the young. Could it be that the fado here is showing how the song can be inspirational and nationally positive?

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[15] A note on my translation; 'ninguém' translated literally means, 'nobody.' Taken within the context of the lyrics, I feel that 'Unknown Soldier' is more suitable to the narrative of the song. However, there is also a case for the use of 'face in the crowd' that also works nicely.

Fado inspiring the youth (Figure 14)

It can be argued that this scene carries little narrational significance; in fact, removing the song would not hinder the progression of the plot in the slightest. The story of Maria and Eduardo has little to do with this fado moment – Eduardo is not even among the soldiers present. However, Maria herself is a frame of reference for World War One when considering that her family name means 'poppy.' That the poppy would become a recognised symbol of remembrance for the dead of World War One, presents Maria as a figure of remembrance and memory. She is the mother, wife, daughter of the soldiers that did not make it back home. She may represent the group that came to be known as the *Cruzada das Mulheres Portuguesas* (War Godmothers), an organization founded in 1916 to welcome the soldiers home, look after their medical needs, and take care of the families of those soldiers who were killed. This organization was still in existence when the film was in production, and represented one of the lasting rituals of commemoration for the war veteran. She is also the mother country, sacrificing herself in the end, for the sake of a soldier, which leads to a return to his home. Seen in this

light, the fado, with its associations to saudade, memory, homesickness, and nostalgia, unites these themes together in one moment.

João Ratão (Jorge Brum do Canto, 1940) opens with the titular character in France with the Portuguese Expeditionary Force sometime around 1918. He is playing cards with some of his comrades and singing happily. The merry mood of men in war sharing a time of quiet and leisure is contrasted with cuts to one soldier lying in his bunk, separated physically from the group of card-players, and separated emotionally, as well – he looks morose (Figure 15).

Longing for home (Figure 15)

The bouncy up-tempo, and mildly risqué, song ends and immediately João Ratão (Oscar de Lemos) asks what is bothering his friend, who informs the others that he is feeling ‘saudade’ for his family and village. Immediately the mood changes to individual expressions of homesickness and melancholy. Some of the men break off

from the group, retiring to their bunks, others sit solemnly at the table, lost in their own thoughts. One soldier reaches for his *guitarra*, a way for him to express his *saudade* (Figure 16). Fado's close association with *saudade*, as discussed earlier, is so strong a connection that this reaction seems natural. This fado interlude is striking for its dramatic use of lighting. The balance of light and shadows in a high contrast style differs markedly from standard techniques with respect to fado in the Portuguese cinema. The *guitarrista* is almost blanketed in shadow, his face peeking out from under *saudade's* heavy expression of homesickness.

Turning to fado (Figure 16)

Contrasted with *Maria Papoila*, this fado is filmed almost entirely in close-ups with the emphasis on the individuals rather than the idea of a collective military. From the beginning, this soldier's fado interlude is not about patriotism or nation, even though the lyrics mention Portugal's past naval achievements and the founding of the nation, the stark lighting and predominance of close-ups, place the oppressive sense of sorrow and

nostalgia in the forefront. As there was an emphasis on national patriotism in *Maria Papoila*, here the patriotism, while present in the lyrics, is lost in the shadows. João sings fado to express the melancholy of missing home. As the song progresses and his emotions take greater hold of him, the camera cuts in closer and closer on him, and the shadows grow more and more dark, his story is not as one soldier among many – the collective camaraderie of *Maria Papoila* – but of a young man, in a dangerous situation, missing his home (Figures 17).

João sings fado (Figure 17)

Similar to the fado in *Maria Papoila*, the lyrics begin by associating the situation of the men at war to the country's past maritime exploits. The greater national narrative of Portugal as the small country that established a vast empire is once again conflated with the soldier far from his home, yet connected to a greater sense of nation expressed through fado. But the song does not linger on this connection as it does in *Maria Papoila*, instead drawing on associations to the village and rural Portugal:

Raça de povo e de glória, que escreveu a nossa história	(Our history is written by glorious people)
Nos mundos que descobriu.	(In worlds they discovered.)
Por isso a Pátria distante, brilha em nós a cada instante	(Our Fatherland shines on us every moment)
Como a luz de uma candeia,	(As the light of a candle,)
Que arde de noite e de dia no altar da Virgem Maria	(Which burns night and day on the altar of the Virgin Mary)
Na igreja da nossa aldeia.	(In the church of our village.)

The specificity of place – the village – no longer references the soldier as unknown, or part of the military as a personification of the nation, but allows for close associations to be drawn about who these soldiers are. They come from villages and cities, have stories, families, and lovers back home. And, if he should die in battle, he hopes that his 'soldier's body' will be marked with the 'honour of Portugal.' The selfless act of the soldier is to be honoured even though the population at the time of the First World War responded negatively to Portugal's involvement, and allows the Portuguese at the time of the film's production (1940) to ponder intervention into the Second World War. This fado interlude can thus be seen to be both an honouring of the soldier, and a validation of Portugal's neutrality through fado's dual expression of melancholy and patriotism.

This fado, set in the trenches in Flanders, has the opportunity to express the sense of duty and patriotism that is present in *Maria Papoila*. Firmly set in the context of the First World War, the scene invokes the national narrative of support for the

troops, while drawing on the negative associations of Portugal's involvement. Thus, fado initializes a strong association for the feelings of the men in war – the song provides a musical expression of sympathy and melancholy. At the same time, Salazar's decision to keep Portugal neutral in the Second World War places his leadership in contrast to the republican governments who wished to ride a wave of patriotism through the involvement in the First World War. Remembering the first war, and Portugal's involvement, may operate here as a propagandistic message, affirming the dictator's stance. Fado with its position as national song and song of *saudade*, functions to illicit sorrowful feelings for the Portuguese soldiers who died in World War One through the song's evocation of loss and memory.

The men listen and think of home (Figure 18)

Aldeia da Roupa Branca

Aldeia da roupa branca / *Village of the White Dress* (Chianca de Garcia, 1938) is primarily set in a village outside Lisbon. The film stars Beatriz Costa as Gracinda, a washer-woman in love with Chico (José Amaro), the son of a struggling *lavadeira* (laundry-man), Jacinto (Manuel Santos Carvalho). He is in competition with another *lavadeira* in his village – the washing-and-drying is carried out by scores of women, and the clean linens are piled onto a wagon and are carted back to Lisbon by horse. Chico has left the village to work as a taxi driver in Lisbon where he is in a relationship with a *fadista*, Maria da Luz (Hermínia Silva). With the business in trouble, Gracinda goes to Lisbon to bring Chico back. Lisbon acts as a negative lure for Chico, and village traditions and values vie for space in a modernising Portugal. While the folkloric traditions are celebrated, it is a modernising truck that in the end saves the family from bankruptcy, and provides the location for the long awaited marriage proposal from Chico to Gracinda.

A central theme of the film is the contrast between the city and the village. Lisa Shaw (2007, 49) argues that the village is presented as a utopia, filled with animals, sunshine, and happy children, while Lisbon is noisy with the modernised hustle-and-bustle of the cosmopolitan city with electric trams, traffic jams, and the cacophonous sounds of the city. The allure of one over the other is also played out with respect to Chico's interest in the two women. Will he choose the utopian expectation of a family life in the village with Gracinda, or will the excitement of the sensual Lisbon-at-night lifestyle with the *fadista* be too enticing for him to pass up? The tension between village

and city also plays out in contrasting musical styles, an aural opposition that in the end favours the village. But, while the *fadista* and the city's fado loses the battle for Chico, the song is shown as the more accommodating, able to adapt to either setting.

The utopian spirit of the village is established immediately via song, with Gracinda singing joyously accompanied by her fellow washer-women as they work. We see a hillside covered in white garments drying in the sun and women, standing side-by-side up to their knees in a river-bank, washing clothes. The movements of the washer-women are in time to the bouncy non-diegetic music. And when Gracinda begins to sing from atop a ladder as she hangs clothes on a tree, the song and her singing celebrates the gender-specific job of washing clothes and its close connection to the village, as the chorus makes clear:

Água fria, da ribeira,	(Cold water from the brook,)
Água fria que o sol aqueceu,	(Cold water the sun has made warm,)
Velha aldeia, traga a ideia,	(When I see my village I think of,)
Roupa branca que a gente estendeu.	(White clothes drying in the sun.)

This sequence is cheerful and playful – a naked toddler rolls out of a tub of water; women smile hearing Gracinda sing as they scrub wet clothes against a rock; Gracinda negotiates a tricky passage of clothes on the ground, dancing to avoid them; and all join happily in the singing of the chorus. Work is shown as a fun, social activity where women can also bring along their children. Interestingly, Beatriz Costa, the singer and star of the film, does not visually dominate this musical sequence. Aurally, she is

the central focus, her bright voice setting up the film's light tone, but she is only occasionally actually shown singing. It is the social aspect of the washing of clothes that the film privileges, with the women enjoying a day's work that takes place out in the sun as part of a wholesome community experience.

In *Aldeia da roupa branca*, the village music and songs are always shown to be an expression of this community utopianism. Gracinda may begin singing the songs herself, but then she steps aside, edited out of the sequence so that members of the village – women, men and children – can take up the singing in a collective celebration of village values and customs. Only when Chico, having returned to the village to assert some machismo against the family's business rivals, has decided to return to Lisbon – not necessarily to be with Maria Da Luz but to drive cars to feel like a big-shot again – is Gracinda accorded the space and time to sing solo. Tears in her eyes, she sings of abandonment and sorrow:

Nenhum homem dá,	(No man gives,)
E nenhum dará	(And no man will ever give)
Um igual ao da mulher.	(A love like the love of a woman.)

Gracinda in this moment is singing for herself, and unlike the fados in this film, the song is for her. The two fado songs lyrically follow the theme of abandonment, love gone wrong, and a woman in sorrow, but they are not directly the expression of the *fadista's* own story within the film narrative. They are performed for a diegetic, and of course, a non-diegetic audience. And, Gracinda is crying throughout the song, which for

a *fadista* would be unthinkable – fado is the excessive expression of emotion, but the fadista must never resort to tears (Gray 2007, 118).

Before seeing Maria da Luz, an expectation is built up regarding her qualities as a *fadista*. Gracinda is told from a mutual friend that Chico is dating a *fadista* in Lisbon who is 'uma fadista de verdade...é sublime' (she's a true fado singer...sublime). Zé (Armando Machado) also tells her that Maria da Luz has a wealthy benefactor who provides her with money and that Chico is enjoying it as well. And then, just before Maria da Luz's first fado, Chico tells a fellow taxi driver that, with business being poor, he would return to his village if it wasn't for Maria da Luz. But there is the hint of something tawdry as well – that she is a good catch for Chico because of her having a wealthy benefactor. By association, fado is then somewhat tawdry, especially as a rival to Gracinda and the village for the affection of Chico, who is wholesome and virtuous.

The contrast with the first performance of fado that follows not long after this sets up the opposition of village and city along visual (day/night and exterior/interior) as well as musical styles. Typical of many of the Portuguese films that take us inside a fado house, the fado sequence begins with a close-up of a playbill sandwich board with a picture of Hermínia Silva featured prominently as the star attraction for the evening. Over this image, the opening *guitarra* instrumental is heard, enticing us to enter the fado house. Unlike the *lavadeira* opening song which emerged from the narrative situation as if naturally, and in a place that had no specific attachments to the type of song being sung, fado is presented within the song-specific milieu of Lisbon at night.

A slow tracking shot of the audience in the fado house interior captures the ambience and atmosphere of fado at night. Patrons are smoking and drinking at cramped tables, and variously looking off to the *fadista* (who remains a voice we *hear*, but not yet *see*), or are staring at each other. Women look at their men while the men smoke and either return the look or remain fixated on the stage. The use of high-contrast lighting creates spaces of intimacy for the couples. In Figure 19, the women in the foreground looks to her partner at the moment that the *fadista* sings about a man's 'wandering ways', as if she is anxious about her partner's fidelity. The woman in the background has been solely focused on her partner, gazing up at him. What is established here is fado associated with sexual intimacy and promiscuousness, and the fado house as the space where couples can hide in the shadows of intimacy.

Intimate setting in the fado house (Figure 19)

The fado house is also a smoky, almost claustrophobic interior with patrons, tightly positioned at tables that appear to leave little room for movement. This tight

seating arrangement, filling the frame with tables, chairs and people, allows for pockets of intense listening and seduction (Figure 20).

Active listening (Figure 20)

The atmosphere created here presents fado as a song of the night, recalling associations of transgression and pleasure discussed in chapter 1. The long tracking shot builds the sense of the fado house as a space of ambience connected intimately to afterhours lifestyles of various pleasures - sex, drink, smoking, and fado. This mise-en-scène of pleasure and transgression is carried through the fado itself, the lyrics referencing the associations of sex and drinking of fado's early years:

É tão fresca a melancia	(The watermelon is fresh)
Como a boca da mulher	(As fresh as a woman's mouth)
Nas tardes de romaria	(In the afternoons of pilgrimage)
Rapazes é que é beber.	(Drink as much as you can.)
Chega a gente ao fim do dia	(We get to the end of the day)
Sem dar p'lo amanhecer	(And don't even notice the night falling.)

(Chorus)	
É para esquecer	(It’s to forget)
É para esquecer	(It’s to get warm)
Que assim beber	(Drinking like this)
Tu me vês a vida inteira	(I’ve taken this all my life)
Com este copo na mão	(With this glass in my hand)
Que tem de sofrer	(If you must suffer)
Mais vale beber até poder ter	(You’d better drink until I lose)
O sangue de uma videira	(I’ll have the blood of a vineyard)
Cá dentro do coração.	(Inside my heart.)
Ó tristeza vai-te embora	(Sadness, go away)
Que a vida passa a correr	(For life is short)
Se não te alegras agora	(If you don’t rejoice now)
Quando é que o hás-de fazer?	(When will you rejoice?)
Bota o vinho a toda a hora	(Drink wine all the time)
Canta, canta até poder	(Sing, sing while you can.)
(Chorus)	
Se calhar haver zaragata	(Maybe there’s some trouble)
Com um freguês que tem mau vinho	(If a client has bad wine)
Pr’a não estragar a frescata	(So that he doesn't ruin the fun)
É dizer-lhe com jeitinho	(You have to tell him nicely)
- Bebe lá mais meia lata,	(Drink up another half a pint,)
Vá lá mais um pastelinho!	(Eat up another fish ball!)

There is a sense of sexual energy rippling through the room on display through the camera and in the music, the singer’s voice, and the lyrics. At one point a man and woman, sitting at separate tables, exchange looks and a note (Figure 21).

Passing a note (Figure 21)

Later, she will read the note and nod in agreement over the contents, which remain a mystery to us. He responds by holding up two fingers (Figures 22 and 23). Are they agreeing on meeting at a specified time? Or has a price been arranged? The fado house, like the taverns and bordellos of fado's early years, is a place where individuals are free to participate in transgressive behaviour that, while allowed, is not promoted as favourable to society, and therefore, Lisbon comes across as a negative influence compared to the traditional family values of the village.

(Figure 22) (Figure 23)

Agreeing on a price?

As Maria da Luz sings she glances occasionally at Chico sitting by the front of the stage, with a coquettish smile engaging him in a back-and-forth game of sensuality and innuendo. Fado and the *fadista* are drawing him away from the village and the fate of his family. This is quite obviously represented as a negative influence on him, especially when Gracinda enters the fado house to admonish him for turning his back on his obligations.

However, a following scene in the fields outside the village has the fado house replaced by a picnic setting with the same patrons enjoying listening to Maria da Luz sing another fado (Figure 24). There is still the sexual intimacy of the fado house scene, but this time the night-time connotations of transgression are replaced by a family-oriented outing that hints at stable relationships (Figure 25). At the time there was a fierce debate taking place over the position of fado as the de-facto national song with admirers arguing in favour of the song's merits, while detractors denounced fado for its transgressive associations. In 1936, two years before this film's release, Luis Moita delivered a series of lectures broadcast on the national radio station outlining his opposition to fado. Drawing on fado's history as a song of criminals and prostitutes, and on the preferred performance venue of a tavern, a place he deemed to be antithetical to the fostering of decent family values, Moita claimed that fado was detrimental to the well-being of Portugal's youth (Nery 2004, 207). The fado house sequence hinted at sexual liaisons, and Maria da Luz's fado at the picnic warns of the possible consequences of illicit affairs. The fado, removed from the bohemian connotations of the night, is now placed in the same setting as the wholesome songs of Gracinda and the

washer-women. Maria da Luz will, after this performance, make it clear to Chico that his place is with his father in the village.

Maria da Luz singing fado at a picnic (Figure 24)

Family picnic and fado (Figure 25)

The song is a response to the earlier fado. Where the first song played around with metaphors about sex, this one is a cautionary tale of abandonment after a sexual encounter. The song's protagonist is left with a child after a passionate relationship. Fado, which her own mother sang to sooth her as a child, is now sung by her to comfort

her after being abandoned. She is now aware that fado is sung from the soul, and in this situation, especially, is from the soul of a suffering woman. Silva sings lying on the grass. Her light style is the same as for the first fado – her smile and light timbre not too far from that of Beatriz Costa, so that the fado lyrics alone carry the sombre message of the fado:

Nasci num dia de chuva,	(It rained the day I was born,)
Eu chorava, o céu chorava.	(I cried, the sky cried)
Minha mãe cantava o fado	(My mother sang the fado)
A ver se me consolava.	(Trying to make me feel better)
Depois palrei,	(Then I babbled)
Depois falei,	(Then I spoke)
Depois cantei,	(And then I sang)
Como quem sente um segredo	(Like one who feels a secret)
Represado na garganta	(Locked inside her throat)
Vivi, sofri	(I suffered)
E no que vi,	(and from what I saw)
Compreendi	(I understood)
Só é mulher quando canta.	(The woman who sings)
Num dia de sol ardente	(On a sunny day)
Passou pela minha rua,	(He walked by my street)
Olhámos um para o outro,	(We looked at each other)
E eu senti que ia ser sua.	(And I felt I would be his)
Ainda hesitei,	(I hesitated)
Mas o que eu sei	(But all I know)
É que cantei	(Is that I sang)
Como quem canta, sentindo	(Like one who sings feelings)
Que a própria alma é que canta	(That her soul is the one singing)
E a fulgurar	(And burning,)
A suplicar	(And begging,)
O seu olhar,	(His eyes)
Tinha a mesma labareda	(Had the same flame)
Que me queimava a garganta.	(That burned in my throat.)
Numa noite fria e escura	(On a cold and dark night)
Não voltou à nossa casa.	(He didn't come home)

Pus os olhos no meu filho	(I looked at my son,)
Sentindo os olhos em brasa.	(Feeling I was burning up)
E só então,	(And only then)
Meu coração,	(My heart)
Nessa traição	(With that betrayal)
Entendeu a dor profunda	(Understood the deep sorrow)
Que há na alma de quem canta.	(In the soul of those who sing)
Se me deixou,	(He left me)
Me abandonou,	(He abandoned me)
Fez-me o que sou	(Made me what I am today)
Agonia da saudade	(The pain of missing him)
Que enrouquece uma garganta.	(Makes my voice hoarse.)

The setting out in the country, away from the city, and in the daytime, shows that fado is adaptable to the values of village. The audience is now spread out sitting on the grass, still in pockets of intimacy, but now no longer crammed together. Visually, this sequence echoes the opening song of the washer-women; the fado aficionados are engaged in a collective activity that is wholesome, out in the sun on a hillside. Away from the dark, smoky and cramped interiors of the fado house, the Lisboners appear freed, content and happy enjoying in the utopian spirit of village life.

‘Fado da Cigana’ (Gypsy Fado): *Um Homem do Ribatejo* and *Ribatejo*

In his article, ‘Changing Perceptions of Social Deviance: Gypsies in Early Modern Portugal and Brazil,’ Bill M. Donovan (1992), examines why gypsies were considered deviant and therefore marginalised, not only in Portugal, but throughout modern European society. At various times, gypsies came under strict and harsh punishment, such as the decree in the late-sixteenth century that forbade, under

punishment of death, gypsies from ‘wandering in groups or bands’ (34). Along with the crown, the Catholic Church viewed gypsies suspiciously. Gypsies lived a life outside the norms of what the Church believed to be moral guidelines set forth by Christian ideals and teachings. As the arbiter of Portugal’s moral and spiritual well-being, the Church sought to maintain a Christian society that was ‘divinely ordained into a well-defined hierarchy’ (34). The gypsy, therefore, as a nomadic, rootless people, did not fit into the ideal of a Christian nation and so were persecuted by the Inquisition, and labelled as social deviants. In particular, Donovan cites the gypsy non-compliance of Catholic practices of marriage and baptism as a threat to the Church’s social and moral order, resulting in a lasting image of the gypsy as spiritually deviant and practicing a type of sorcery (35).

By the end of the nineteenth century, a shift in perception occurred. The main threat to societal norms, the social group that bore the brunt of criticism and alienation as the deviant Other, were the freed African and Brazilian colonial slaves. This altered the distinction of social deviance from that of an ethnic group to a racial group (Donovan 1992, 33), and throughout Europe, a romanticised view of gypsies was taking hold. Gypsy culture was appropriated by bohemians who celebrated the non-conformist vagabond lifestyle, co-opting it for their own belief that an artist lives outside the norms of bourgeois society (Donovan 1992, 46). The resulting image of the gypsy as an exotic and sensual figure took on greater prominence in European popular culture, with Georges Bizet’s 1875 opera, *Carmen*, epitomizing the shift most strikingly. So, in the same way that fado was slowly being accepted in the drawing rooms and salons of the

upper classes, gypsies were also being embraced by elements of popular culture, though there were still detractors.

Although a more romanticised and stereotyped view of *cigano* culture was taking hold, this did not completely disassociate the *cigano* in Portugal from perceptions of social deviancy. Writing in 1892, Adolfo Coelho, cautions that the 'outlaw gypsy still exists and that this outlaw is well aware that their strangeness is a powerful weapon' (1995 [1892], 163). In this respect, the gypsy formed part of the marginalised groups, of which fado was still thought to occupy, that bourgeois Portuguese society, in order to repress these groups, exaggerated their deviancy, thus creating a 'mythology of crime' (Guinote 2002, 72). The exotic Otherness of the gypsy was still somewhat dangerous in some quarters of Portuguese society and at odds with a sense of *Portugueseness*. The gypsy continued to occupy a position of foreignness – not fully belonging to Portuguese society, but not entirely viewed in the same sense of deviance that persisted previously. While tolerated and fetishised, the gypsy, so the belief held, must not be trusted.

The films, *Um Homem do Ribatejo* / *The Man from the Ribatejo* (Henrique Campos, 1946) and *Ribatejo* (Henrique Campos, 1949), belong to the popular folkloric genre, and have been variously referred to as the 'Ribatejo cycle.' As I mentioned in the previous chapter, these films celebrate the machismo of bullfighting and ranching. Similar to *Gado Bravo*, fado is again associated with these pursuits, along with the theme that cuts across all Portuguese films during the 1930s and 1940s, the harmonising of social classes. The films focus on the cattle-raising region of the Ribatejo (north-west of Lisbon) and the figures of the *toureiro* (bullfighter) and the *rancheiro* (rancher),

while also celebrating folkloric traditions and customs of the Portuguese *saloio* (peasant). *Um Homem do Ribatejo*, and its sequel, *Ribatejo*, contain plot elements and visual detail that define the genre; the visual ethnographic attention to detail highlighting the herding of bulls; the inclusion of festival gatherings, be it a wedding or a Saint's Day celebration; the emphasis on traditional costumes; the machismo of the *rancheiro* and the dutiful, yet fiery woman behind the man; and the celebration of the traditional family. *Um Homem do Ribatejo* tells the story of Manuel (Barreto Poeira), who goes from being the head ranch-hand on the ranch of Dom Luís (Antonio Palma), to being fired for allegedly attempting to take over the ranch, and then reconciled to the old man after rescuing some of the ranch-hands and bulls during a flash flood. *Ribatejo* continues the family saga, this time it is Manuel's son, António (Virgilio Teixeira), who proves himself worthy of his father's legacy on the ranch by thwarting the plans of the head ranch-hand from taking the ranch away from Belinha (Eunice Munoz), the daughter of Dom Luís, who now runs the property after her father's death.

In both films, fado is associated with travelling gypsies. Hermínia Silva plays the fado-singing gypsy in these films, known only as 'A Cigana' (the gypsy), a role she had become known for in the *teatro de revista*. One of her more popular set-pieces in the *teatro de revista* during the late thirties and forties was the 'fado da cigana' (the gypsy fado). Silva established herself as the star *fadista* during the 1930s through her performances in the *teatro de revista*. She was acclaimed for a 'naturalistic' style and ability to blend the more sombre elements of fado to the comic requirements of the *teatro de revista* shows (Nery 2004, 214). In an issue of the fado magazine, *Guitarra de Portugal* (1939, 4), almost exclusively dedicated to her, an editorial praised her for the

rare ability to sing up-tempo, light fado that set her apart from all other *fadistas*, while also demonstrating the emotional and vocal sensitivity to perform the melancholy songs.

These films play on a perception of the gypsy as Other, but now an accepted, and somewhat integrated, member of Portuguese society. This integration is made explicit in *Um Homem do Ribatejo* when the gypsies are present at Manuel's wedding celebration. This inclusion allows for an acceptance on the part of the gypsies of the Catholic marriage tradition, which as explained earlier was an historical area of confrontation between the Church and Portuguese gypsies. This acceptance on the part of the gypsies is an affirmation of the tradition of Catholic marriage as integral to Portuguese society. The presence of gypsies signals that the Church's ideal of the Portuguese social and moral order is not to be contested by any marginal group. This is not to say that the gypsy is fully integrated into this Christian society, but is no longer opposed to this society and quite happily takes part. As Figure 26 shows, the gypsies sitting in their caravan-wagons are enjoying the festivities, smiling at the spectacle of the celebration and not a threat to the marriage ritual.

Enjoying the wedding festivities (Figure 26)

Hermínia Silva as the *cigana* is further integrated into this society when she is called upon by Dom Luís to sing a fado for the newly-weds. The association of fado with gypsies in these two films draws on the cultural associations of fado with the marginal groups during fado's early years. De-marginalising the song along with the figure of the gypsy, in these films, reconciles those associations with a view of Portuguese society as having integrated all groups under the social and moral order of the Church, and by extension, the regime. Fado, having been accepted and celebrated as the national song, acts as the mediating factor in the assimilation of the gypsy into this ordered society. Asking the *cigana* to sing the national song at a wedding suggests that the gypsy has accepted the Christian ideals and thus can be allowed to take part in Portuguese society in a productive way. Notice that the *cigana* is wearing a crucifix around her neck (Figure 27), suggesting that she has willingly adopted the iconography of Christianity, and possibly the ideals and morals of the Church. This very same crucifix is also worn by Hermínia Silva in the sequel, and allows for the *cigana* to be a perfectly acceptable singer of the national song and to perform at a wedding.

A Cigana (Figure 27)

In keeping with the notion that the gypsy became a figure of exotic Otherness, the *cigana's* dress sets her apart from the traditional attire of the women of the Ribatejo. Adolfo Coelho (1995 [1892], 176) described gypsy women as wearing dresses of vivid colours with a wide corset. The *cigana* wears a low-necked dress in both films, and while the look is still modest, it is more revealing than the traditional dress of the *saloio* (peasant) women. In Figure 28, taken from *Um homem do Ribatejo*, the *cigana* wears a dress that is decorated with frills and a colourful, detailed pattern with ornate, long-flowing sleeves with fir-trim; a dress that seems suited to a wedding party. In Figure 29, taken from *Ribatejo*, the *cigana* is wearing a dress more suited to the transient lifestyle of the gypsy, with a light-cotton skirt and top, but again, there is a decorative pattern on the blouse with a low neck-line. Also visible are long tasselled ear-rings. In contrast to her look, the women of the Ribatejo are dressed in traditional clothes which emphasise a more conservative and modest style; the colours are more subdued and there is very little exposed skin on display (Figure 30). The face, in particular, is surrounded by fabric with a pill-box style hat and scarf that drapes around the head. The look is far more reserved than that of the *cigana* which only emphasises her place on the margins of the Ribatejo society, either watching from a wagon or on a camp-site away from the town and the ranch. The *cigana* codified as other, is not quite 'Portuguese.'

Dressed for a wedding (Figure 28)

Dressed for the campsite (Figure 29)

The dress of the *saloio* (Figure 30)

As the *cigana* is asked to sing a fado at the wedding she announces that she will offer the couple her blessing, but with a caveat of a future warning that the couple must heed. At first, those gathered smile and laugh paying little attention to the lyrics, instead enjoying the lightness of the melody and the *cigana's* voice. The fado, 'Fado da sina' (Fado of Fate), is a fortune-tellers song. The *cigana* sings that she will tell the future of the lovers from lines in their hands; lines that portend a fate of:

Sinal de amargura, de dor e tortura, de esperança perdida,	(Sign of bitterness, pain and torture, lost hope,)
Destino marcado de amor destroçado na linha da vida.	(A marked destiny of a shattered love life.)

Hands on hips, the *cigana* sways slightly back and forth, her head tilted back looking directly at the wedding party in the window. For their part, the couple, their family and friends, seem not to be taking in the words of the song at all; they are smiling throughout, and at one point even laugh at the silly antics of one of their party. There is a wry smile on her face, almost suggesting that she is holding back her more fateful message, waiting for the moment when her words and voice can have the greater impact. When it arrives, the downcast looks on the faces of the groom, Manuel, and on Dom Luis' daughter, Belinha, betrays a story of unfulfilled love:

Tu podes mentir às leis do teu coração,	(You can lie about what your heart wants,)
Mas quer queiras quer não,	(But whether you want it or not,)
Tens de cumprir a tua sina.	(You need to fulfil your destiny.)

Manuel is marrying Maria Loba, a village girl, but as he is well-respected by his employer, the union of a wealthy ranch-owner's daughter to a ranch-hand is something that cannot take place.

The fado, sung by a gypsy, truly becomes a song of fate as it is associated with the superstitious belief that gypsies possess the capability of seeing into the future. Manuel will be sent away from the ranch and his marriage will be tested when he almost loses his wife in the flash flood that threatens the ranch.

The Church's discrimination of gypsies was rooted in the belief that gypsies were hostile to the moral and social order of a Christian society. This led to the superstitious belief that gypsies practiced sorcery. The gypsy as fortune-teller is a stereotype that fit into these views. There is a hint of this in the *cigana's* warning to the couple. But, far from being a prediction, a traditional trope of fado is the doomed fate of lovers and the hardships that one may endure. The bringing together of marginal groups and fado, while drawing on the iconography and themes associated with fado, demonstrates that the national song can be reconciled to the values of the Church, and by extension, the *Estado Novo*. Once again the powerful image of Maria Severa, the Severa of myth popularised by Júlio Dantas on stage and by António Lopes Ribeiro in film, attempts to bring into line the more subversive elements of fado. The gypsy, as perceived through this popular myth, is still at the margins, but no longer a threat to social norms. Nonetheless, fado and the gypsy are still very much on the periphery here.

The gypsies are restricted to their camp-site in the sequel, *Ribatejo* (Henrique Campos, 1949), and by extension so is the fado. The gypsies may not be living among

the people of the Ribatejo in the village, but their pastoral, rural 'home' is no less a site of family and community. In Figure 31 the *cigana* sings while sitting around the camp-fire, a kettle of food suspended over the fire and another female gypsy next to her, and her family all around her, and the countryside in the distance. This setting, in similar fashion to Amarante's fado in *Maria Papoila*, appears to draw on Hermínia Silvas's popular *cigana* set-piece in the *teatro de revista*.

Gypsy campsite (Figure 31)

The associations of gypsies as existing outside the norms of Portuguese society are lessened by emphasising the sense of community values. Fado in these films, because of its position as national song, eases the acceptance of the gypsy as a productive member of Portuguese society. There is still an exotic quality visualised through the costumes and setting, but it is now not a dangerous or sinister otherness to be feared or criminalised. Through their association with fado, the gypsies are

represented as an ordered family unit, while still maintaining a sense of the exotic and as a wandering group. In this sense, the song is travelling through Portugal in much the same way as the gypsy wanders the country. The gypsy, rather than a rootless and therefore deviant member of society, is a wandering *fadista* bringing the fado to regions of the country that have not had access to the song. By taking the fado on a tour of the country, it also emphasises the position of the song as the national song. Thus, the films reconcile two historically social deviant and marginalised groups (the gypsy and the *fadista*) with the ordered Portuguese society of the Catholic Church and the *Estado Novo*. Indeed, the *cigana* looks to Catholicism for guidance in the song:

Sou cigana,	(I'm a gypsy)
e pergunto ao menino Jesus	(and ask of the baby Jesus)
Por meu mal,	(For my troubles,)
Quem é, quem é	(Who is, who is)
Que sabe afinal	(Who knows after all)
Qual é, qual é	(What is, what is)
O nosso destino!	(Our destiny!)

Performing ‘Fado da Cigana’ (Figure 32)

Sol e Touros

Sol e Touros / *Sun and Bulls* (José Buchs, 1949) is a rags to riches story of a young man, Manuel da Cruz (played by real-life bullfighter, Manuel Dos Santos[16]), an orphan village boy who becomes a famous bullfighter. His story is paralleled by the success story of Maria Alice (Ana Paula) who becomes a star in the Portuguese *teatro de revista*. Their lives intersect at various times until they are able to act on their love for one another and marry at film's end. The traditional link between bullfighting and fado is celebrated via two performances by well-known *fadistas,* Amália Rodrigues and Fernanda Baptista.

In stark contrast to the quiet deference shown fado during a performance, the *teatro de revista* debut of Maria Alice's outgoing performance is striking. The lively 'Um, dois, tres' (One, Two, Three) is up-tempo and festive. She moves around the stage, encouraging participation, gesturing to the audience to join in, keeping time with claps and singing along for the chorus, her smile displaying the enjoyment of the performance (Figure 33).

[16] Manuel Dos Santos was the first Portuguese bullfighter to fight bulls in the Spanish style – on foot with a cape and sword.

Encouraging audience participation (Figure 33)

Whereas, Maria Alice is mostly bent at the waist, reaching down to her audience, Amália will perform fado with her head reaching up, beyond the frame. Amália is invited to sing fado at Manuel's celebration dinner after his successful debut. The venue is a tavern with an all-male gathering. Their mood is boisterous, toasting him with wine and laughter. The fado, and especially the introduction of Amália, announced as Portugal's greatest *fadista*, is met with excited clapping. This response is similar to that of Maria Alice's performance, but once the fado begins with Amália silencing the room (quite literally as the first lyric sung is 'Silencio' (Silence)), the men become quiet and reflective.

Gesture and emotion (Figure 34)

Amália had established a style of singing and performing that had quickly become the standard for all *fadistas* – the head tilted back with eyes closed and the subtle swaying of the upper body, and the use of extended *voltinhas*. The adoption of the Amália style as the norm for fado marks a distinct shift to a more expressive performance, one where gesture, as well as voice, signal emotion. In the above image (Figure 34) Amália's clenched hands are visible. Throughout the performance her hands squeeze the shawl, become locked, clench into tight fists as if ringing out the emotion from within. In Figure 35 Amália is visually contained between her guitarists and her voice is attempting to reach beyond the top of the frame. Without a character to contain her energy and expressiveness, we are watching Amália – the *fadista* – conveying emotional intensity through voice and gesture. The top-edge of the frame seems like a barrier for her as she strains to release her emotional singing, her body almost fighting to break beyond the edge.

Reaching beyond the frame (Figure 35)

Manuel's success takes him to Sevilla, Spain, an indication that his reputation as a bullfighter is now to be tested on a larger stage. As an export of Portuguese culture, Manuel's ability as a bullfighter is matched with that of Amália and other *fadistas* who perform the national song abroad. To emphasise this point, Manuel'e celebratory night out after his glorious debut in Sevilla sees him at a night-club, a spectacular club with a spacious dance floor. Upon entering the club, Manuel is greeted by patrons, his celebrity quickly established. In his honour a fado is performed for him by Fernanda Baptista. This is now the second moment for a fado and it comes also in honour of Manuel, though this time, it is not a family and friends affair, but in the company of Sevilla high society. Fernanda Baptista, introduced as herself by the orchestra leader, sings 'Fado do Toureiro.' This fado is removed from the tradition of the national song, so the *fadista* sings without the use of a shawl – her appearance alone does not connect her to the expectations of a fado performance. She is not framed tightly as was the case with Amália, but instead we see her full body and always with patrons in the background and foreground of the frame – she is not the focus of the camera, as Amália

clearly was, but here, the fado acts as incidental music to Manuel as bullfighter (Figure 36).

Fado in Spain (Figure 36)

After the first two verses are sung, a dissolve to a series of shots of Manuel in the bullring dominate. The fado providing the soundtrack in a way that again ties the song to bullfighting as a two cultural forms that are meant to be connected historically. Fernanda Baptista's performance fascinates for its un-Amália style. She does not tilt her head back and incorporates her arms to emphasise meaning, even if the gestures are solely directed out to the audience. Her singing, while melismatic, is lighter than Amália's, and the dissolve to the bullfighting montage, visually relegates the song to background music, but Baptista's vocal style also allows for a lighter tone, less histrionic than if Amália were to be singing here. The fado is inconsequential, and that may be the point. Fado is performed for a Spanish audience, so it does not carry the iconographic weight here and is instead a sonic reminder of Portugal and pushed to the background while Manuel sets aside his Portuguese values.

Manuel, removed from Portugal, will for a time turn his back on Maria Alice in favour of a Spanish dancer. The club, like the bullring, is grander than Portuguese venues. Achieving success in Spain is, as this film posits, the pinnacle for Manuel, but it also isolates him from Maria Alice and the values of Portugal. This is made clear when Manuel becomes enamoured with Lola, a *Baile Flamenco* dancer at the club, and they soon are lovers. Her exotic, sexualised dancing is in sharp contrast to the more wholesome singing performances of Maria Alice. And it is with Lola that Manuel shares an onscreen kiss (a rare event in the majority of the films in this study).

Dancing the *flamenco* (Figure 37)

Conclusion

Fado's brief interludes in these films at first glance appear to be self-contained moments of popular entertainment – a chance to hear and see fado performed. In the case of the films featuring Hermínia Silva, they provide an opportunity to watch one of the major stars of the *teatro de revista* sing fado. She was, throughout the 1930s and

much of the 1940s, the most popular *fadista* in the country. And as attractions go, the casting of Estevão Amarante in *Maria Papoila*, one of the pioneering figures of the *teatro de revista* who had also sung some popular fados, can also be seen as a stand-alone performance. It appears that fado's popularity and position as national song is reason enough for its inclusion in these films. That seems to have been the opinion of at least one reviewer at the time, and as I stated in Chapter 1, the opinion of critics and scholars since. But the context of history, tradition and mythology suggest that more is occurring here.

Within the broad generic conventions of the popular folklore film, the films discussed in this chapter play on associations of bullfighting, ranching, gypsies and patriotism that have long been connected with fado. Rather than exist as unnecessary or forced interludes, the fado songs can, and do, provide a narrative function coinciding with those associations. For the bullfighter Manuel in *Gado Bravo* fado, through the figure of Pascoal, lectures on the potential pitfalls of pursuing the wrong woman. The character of Pascoal also draws on the figure of the *mendigo cantor*, the singing beggar that travelled throughout Portugal helping to popularise fado outside its traditional home of Lisbon. Living at the periphery of society, as his dress and appearance signals, Pascoal is nonetheless granted access to the upper class freely because he is *fadista*.

The gypsy has long been established as an exotic figure of fado. The romanticisation of the love story between Maria Severa and the Conde de Vimioso by Júlio Dantas on stage and in literature, and then by António Lopes Ribeiro in his film, *A Severa*, placed the figure of the gypsy at the heart of fado mythology. Never mind that

the real-life Severa, even with very little actually known about her, had no gypsy lineage. The invented story was far more appealing to audiences. Following closely on the heels of the Dantas Severa and the filmed biography, the gypsy of *Um homem do Ribatejo* and *Ribatejo*, like Pascoal, takes a figure on the margins and places her within the society of a 'typical' Portuguese village. The deviancy and distrust that shaped attitudes towards gypsies, specifically from the Catholic Church, is replaced by gypsies happy to be asked to participate in the celebration of a wedding. However, fado and the gypsy are not quite reconciled to the community in these villages, present but not fully integrated as members.

Maria Severa raises the very problematic issue of fado's association to prostitution. It was said that she worked for a time as a prostitute out of her mother's tavern in the Mouraria. In *Aldeia da roupa branca*, the fado house becomes a place of carnal liaisons with lyrics sprinkled with sexual innuendo. The setting and the patrons in attendance (what exactly is written in that note?) are signalled as pursuing transgressive pleasures, though no overt image of prostitution is on display. The debate over fado's position as national song, debates that argued whether a song associated with figures of ill-repute can ever truly be accepted as a national song, was waged quite vigorously in the 1930s. The fado house sequence in this film does little to combat the opinion that fado should be regarded as suitable for national importance and as a marker of family values. Yet, when fado is placed in the countryside, in the hills and fields where the washer-women sing and work, fado is a song of love and friendship. The village and city opposition is reconciled by fado; fado can equally be sung and appreciated in the

fado house at night in Lisbon and in the sun of a bright day in the village, but the songs of the washer-women only are performed in the village.

At its most patriotic, fado revels in images of Portuguese naval expansion and metaphors of the mother country. As the sonic expression of saudade, fado conveys loss and homesickness intimately for the soldier at war, which is also rendered dramatically through shadows and close-ups in *João Ratão* for a powerful visual expression of saudade. The individual soldier is honoured through fado in *Maria Papoila*, where the memory of war is invoked in a shared moment of patriotism. As if in direct response to those detractors who questioned the song's values, fado is sung by soldiers remembering the traumas of World War One, and as a song that brings emotional solace to them in the trenches.

In the next chapter the figure of the gypsy and associations with prostitution are more closely addressed with specific reference to Maria Severa. While the interludes in this chapter offered brief moments of fado as marginal, transgressive or patriotic, the dramas that follow have fado at the centre of the narrative.

Chapter Three

Fado Dramas

Introduction

In the previous chapter, fado was an interlude, a brief moment of performance, incidental to the overall narrative. The films utilise the song's cultural position as the *canção nacional* to draw on aspects of fado's history and iconography. The films, particularly those of the 1930s, offer contradictory connotations, a reflection of the fervent debates for and against fado during that decade.

In this chapter, fado is central to the narrative, and the films are set in the world of fado, itself. The central figure of fado history, Maria Severa, and its current star, Amália Rodrigues, figure prominently in these films. The impact of these women and their stories and careers in fado is such that they are known by a single name: Severa and Amália; and in one short film, the two come together as Amália channels Severa via the representation of the famous José Malhoa painting discussed in chapter 1. This chapter is therefore divided in two major sections focusing on each of these women in turn. A third section looks at the film *Cantiga da rua* / *Song of the Street* (1950), which contains a male *fadista* and a female *fadista* as the central characters which sets it apart from all the other films in this dissertation. Other than *A Severa* (1931), the fado dramas in this chapter show the influences of the effects of the regime's now more intrusive

meddling into fado, post-World War Two. The sexual connotations and images seen in *A Severa* are now completely removed, replaced by more sanitised and folkloric traditionalism.

A Severa

A Severa (José Leitão de Barros, 1931) was Portugal's first foray into sound cinema. The film is regarded as 'one of the most remarkable portraits of Portugal' that dramatises the *pobrete mas alegrete* ('poor, but happy') people who accept their fate with strength and honour (Costa 1991, 54). For director José Leitão de Barros it was a story that he longed to film. At the time of filming he commented that in the story of Maria Severa he saw a story that encompassed all aspects of Portuguese society of the mid 19th century, and something akin to a Portuguese *Zorro* (*J. Leitao de Barros* 1982, 34-35). And in the story of the love affair of the prostitute *fadista* and the Conde de Marialva (Vimioso in the film), Barros found parallels with *La Traviata* (Costa 1991, 53). The production cost 2 million escudos, a staggering amount at a time when the country was close to bankruptcy and for a film industry that had no institutional infrastructure, such as a film studio. The film premiered on 21 July 1931 and would be viewed by over 200,000 Portuguese, making it one of the country's most popular films over the next twenty years.

As there was no film studio in Portugal, the interiors were filmed in France. The film's sound was supervised by the French director, Rene Clair, at the Epinay Studios in Paris. It was claimed that Clair not only supervised the sound, but also directed the

scenes. It became a bone-of-contention for Barros for many years that any praise for the film was accompanied by this view.[17] Clair, in fact, had no contact with the production, leaving the sound work to his assistant.

A remake of *A Severa* was considered in 1951 with Amália Rodrigues in the eponymous role. Spanish producer/director, José Luís Saenz de Herédia, went to Lisbon to negotiate with the star *fadista* along with two other Portuguese cinema stars, António Vilar and Manuel dos Santos, in what was reported as being a production of high value and production costs (*A Severa* 1951, 7).

The film was based on the stage play written by Júlio Dantas (1876-1962) in 1901. Dantas' Severa is an idealised and tragic figure. In this dramatisation, Severa becomes a beautiful gypsy and singer of fado who dies of an un-named sickness at the tender age of 26. She possesses a wild streak and falls in love with a young, dashing Count, an aristocratic bullfighter. Michael Colvin (2006, 2) writes that 'Dantas did not exaggerate Severa's portrait; rather, he filled in the gaps of the scant biographical data on the *fadista* to create the folkloric figure of the Mouraria *fadista*/prostitute'. Dantas drew on various accounts of Maria Severa syndissertationing them to suit the needs of his drama.

Regarding the real-life Maria Severa, in one second-hand account, a writer relates his conversations with a man who claimed to have known Severa. At one point

[17]Internet Movie Database (IMDB) even lists Clair as a writer on the film.

the acquaintance cannot recount seeing her dressed poorly or raggedly, and that her deportment was always elegant (Costa 1936, 10). He suggests that her early death may have been as a result of leading a 'freespirited' life (8). This 'freespirited' life, the sex and alcohol of living as a tavern-maid or *fadista*/prostitute in the dangerous neighbourhood of 19th century Mouraria, on the surface, does not fit neatly into a narrative that suggests that the fado and Portuguese cinema in these years was ideologically aligned to a dictatorial, fascist-leaning, government. Perhaps, it was for this reason that Leitão de Barros sought to compare the film to popular and elite cultural arts outside of Portugal, such as *Zorro* and *La Traviata* (*Dina Teresa: A Severa: 50 anos de cinema sonoro* 1983). In this sense, Barros places *A Severa* on an equal footing with those art works, and thus legitimises his decision to film the story of a prostitute and her aristocratic lover. As was discussed in chapter 1, the salacious affair gripped the aristocracy in Portugal, a gossipy fascination with bohemian *marialvismo*. This also makes the film viable as a project for the first sound film in Portugal, thus easing any concerns that may exist over the associations of fado's marginal past.

However, not everyone was pleased with celebrating fado in this way. The director had to defend his film from one detractor in particular in an exchange of letters printed in the film magazine, *O Imagem*. Jose Gomes Ferreira (1931, 7), who referred to fado as 'poison,' strongly objected to its prominence in the film and urged future filmmakers to resist the 'emotional excessiveness' of this national expression. Barros, fired back, denying that he surreptiously cleaned-up the image of fado and of the 'decadent' Mouraria in his film (Ferreira 1931, 5). Interviewed in 1958, Barros claimed that 'A Severa is sentimental and fado is its spirit. I chose a theme, that good or bad, is

entirely Portuguese' (quoted in *J. Leitao de Barros* 1982, 44). Ferreira changed his mind about the film, but not necessarily his opinion of fado, after seeing the film. He wrote that he was moved to tears after hearing Dina Teresa sing in the film (Ferreira 1931, 7).

Maria Severa would sing the fado in her mother's tavern in the Mouraria. The dashing Conde de Marialva, an aristocrat and bullfighter who frequented the slum taverns of the Alfama and Mouraria, became infatuated with Severa while she sang the fado, and they began a love affair. The Conde's family were displeased with this liaison and the attention it brought. As celebrity affairs are followed today, theirs was reported in the broadsheets of the day (Vernon 1998, 9). Marialva was forced to end the relationship. Severa did not recover from the breakup and soon drank herself to death, dying alone at the age of 26.

O fado, sou eu!

In *A Severa*, after her horse ride with Vimioso, he proceeds to take Severa to the market where horses and cattle are bought and sold. Approaching the stall of the gypsy Romão, a man who Vimioso has had business dealings with, he throws Severa to the ground; he has got what he wanted from her and must now play the part of the aristocrat. Discarded, Severa is distraught. Romão takes her to a nearby tavern and encourages her to sing fado as a way to give voice to her feelings: 'Why cry. Sing' (Figure 38). Singing is offered as a truer expression of one's emotion, and in this film, fado is the song-form par excellence for emotional expressivity.

'Why cry, sing' (Figure 38)

Dina Teresa was not a *fadista* when she was cast but a singer in operettas and in the *teatro de revista*. However, while her singing does not quite compare to the vocal acrobatics of Amália, Teresa visually displays the sense that her treatment by Vimioso has hurt her deeply. In Figure 38 above, her face registers the signifiers of a fado performance that will become synonymous with Amália, a full decade later. Her performance, and particularly her voice, captures the sense of 'fado na alma' (fado in the soul), and prefigures the style that Amália will make the standard for all *fadistas*, with her head tilted slightly back and eyes closed.

It is also worth noting here that the film shows Severa accompanying herself on the *guitarra*. The moments of a female *fadista* accompanying herself on the *guitarra* are not prevalent in Portuguese films. In this film, Severa always plays the *guitarra*, a further association of her to fado – they are one and the same. Later she will declare, 'O fado, sou eu!' (I am fado). The one moment when she does not accompany herself is the time of her death. Too ill to play, she lies on her couch while Vimioso plays the

guitarra, an act that is not only a tender moment between the lovers, but a suggestion that fado is also moving beyond the streets of the Mouraria and the Alfama. Vimioso playing fado on the *guitarra* shows that the upper classes have begun to appropriate the song for their own enjoyment. Just as fado would make its way into the salons of the bourgeoisie by first being played on the piano, Vimioso, at Severa's death-bed, represents the sanitisation of the fado as it moves from the margins. The prostitute is thus accepted as a figure of folklore in the evolution of fado's respectability.

The scene also shows that fado does not begin with Maria Severa. Before we see and hear her sing, a woman is singing fado in the tavern (Figure 39). She sits with her back to the camera, accompanying herself on a *guitarra* as Severa walks in. That the first instance of fado should come from another performer suggests that the song has resonance beyond the title character. But, the identity of this *fadista* is not known, her face never revealed. Maria Severa is the only *fadista* we actually see sing fado. Visually, she is, literally, the face of fado, the woman who will sing fado in the dirty streets and taverns for the under-classes and in the lush gardens and palaces for the aristocrats.

A fadista sings fado (Figure 39)

Who listens to fado?

In an article in *Imagem*, the film's director, Leitão de Barros (1931, 7), mentioned that it was equally important to show who is listening to the fado. The Severa of the film, following the dramatic license taken by Dantas for his stage play and novel, takes the gypsy from the Ribatejo to the poor *bairro* of Mouraria in Lisbon and also to the estate and lush gardens of the aristocrat, Dom João. Who is listening to fado is essential, visually, in order to trace the appeal of the song across all social classes as it makes its way to becoming the *canção nacional* (national song).

After Severa sings fado in the tavern, a title card tells us that fado draws her to the Mouraria in Lisbon, suggesting that it is her fate to be a *fadista*. She moves to the 'Rua do Capelao,' the street that in fado folklore is the traditional home of fado, solely because it is where Severa lived. In Severa's day, the street was also known as 'Rua Suja' (Dirty Street), a nickname based on the level of criminality found there. This aspect of the neighbourhood does not factor in *A Severa*. Instead, the residents of the bairro are depicted as the 'pobrete mas alegrete' (poor but happy), the social trait championed by the *Estado Novo,* who let the fado feel their sadness for them.

Now, having moved to the Mouraria and established herself as a *fadista* of rare quality and celebrated for it, Severa is contented. Her sadness from the previous scene is forgotten as she is no longer lonely because fado has brought her to a community that values her. She sings for the Mouraria and uses her voice to give expression to their suffering and melancholy, though perhaps not her own anymore. Singing fado, she is surrounded by neighbours who appear emotionally affected by her singing, while she

occasionally smiles through the song, clearly enjoying performing (Figure 40). Her audience seem locked in the thematic tropes closely associated with fado. They appear as individuals coming together to share in a collective expression of suffering, of living in harsh times at the mercy of fate (Figures 41 and 42).

Severa enjoying performing fado (Figure 40)

(Figure 41)

(Figure 42)

Affected by fado

Severa is soon invited to perform fado at a garden party at the palace of Dom João. She is delighted to be feted in such a grand place and to be asked to perform fado for aristocrats who are fascinated to hear her sing. After seeing Vimioso arm-in-arm with an heiress, she then refuses to continue with the fado. Vimioso haughtily presents the guitarra to her, and without saying a word, his posture and gesture demand she finish the song. She finishes, but without the smile and this time sings the fado at a slower tempo and with a maudlin tone. In the end she is left clutching on to her guitarra, clearly upset, with the aristocrats returning to their party (Figure 43). Severa may be accepted to perform for them, but once that is done she is clearly not meant to become a part of their society.

Not accepted (Figure 43)

Gypsy and Prostitute

The Maria Severa of the film, taken from the Júlio Dantas stage play, is the figure that would become the most enduring in fado mythology, is a composite portrait of various factual and fictional influences. As mentioned earlier in this section on *A Severa*, the popularity of contemporary dramatisations of gypsy culture seems to have influenced Leitão de Barros in choosing Dantas' play as his first feature film. The popular fascination with gypsy culture also seems to have inspired Dantas to turn Severa into a gypsy, perhaps using the exotic, sexual otherness of the gypsy as a means of explaining the issue of prostitution.

Prostitution obviously complicates the notion of Severa as a suitable figure for folklorisation, especially in a story that would be filmed with the backing of a dictatorship. However, the mixing of aristocrats with those on the margins of society in the poor neighbourhoods of fado`s origins, the wayward carousing of bohemian young men of wealth and nobility was seen as a necessary experience and expression of their masculine identities – the code of *marialvismo*.

At one point in the film, Severa finds two men waiting for her at the foot of the stairs to her apartment above a tavern. They are gambling to decide which will have the opportunity to spend the night with her. She delights in teasing them, but refuses any offer as she believes that Vimioso will take her as a wife.

The film does not shy away from depicting the contradictions inherent in the story of a prostitute and a gypsy in a film supposedly celebrating the values and traditions concomitant with that of a right-wing government. As the film opens, Severa

is dancing suggestively in a village square while a young gypsy male plays a fiddle (Figure 44). They wear bandanas, jewellery, exposing bare skin and tanned bodies. Severa is dressed in a light camisole and floral print skirt shaking a tambourine decorated gloriously with various scarves and tassels. She turns slowly in a circle, her hips and torso gyrating seductively with her arms at times going above her head, accentuating her curves and bosom, and exposing her belly. The shocked looking villagers are the image of propriety in comparison.

Seductive dancing in a village square (Figure 44)

The film, contradictorily, is not shy in sexualising Severa. At one point she decides to have Vimioso's coat of arms tattooed on her chest. She rests her head on a woman's lap, her shirt spread open almost exposing her left breast, as the woman leans in to apply ink (Figure 45). In a film that is argued to be a glorification of folklore and tradition that fits into the overall cultural project of a dictatorship that has roots in the

Catholic Church, this risqué scene complicates that reading. Dina Teresa plays Severa with a mischievous sense of sexuality and a stubborn strength that refuses to be mocked or ridiculed. Later, after her horse-ride with Vimioso, and suggestion of a sexual encounter, she is shown seductively lying on the ground (Figure 46).

Severa being tattooed (Figure 45)

Severa post-encounter with Vimioso (Figure 46)

With Severa's death, the excess of what she represents – disorder, sexuality, passion – excesses that Paulo Guinote (2002, 71) writing about marginal outsiders refers to as the 'menace to stability', must give way to the values of a traditional ordered, moral society. The process of integrating fado into the established society is confirmed. Severa must step aside for fado to become part of Portuguese society as a national symbol. Fado must leave behind its social marginality relegating Severa and her 'kind' to myth and a history that will be contested by those who offer up fado as a moral song of 'Portugueseness.' With the fado films of the 1940s, Severa becomes the folklorised figure of fado's association with its traditional neighbourhoods. This is not to say that the obvious allusion to these neighbourhoods as sites of criminality and prostitution were therefore evoked, but that an evocation of these places would inevitably represent fado. The 1940s films depict fado as a profession, one that a woman can pursue, and the Alfama, and therefore Lisbon, as a modern city with the close community values of a village. But these films are also a passing-of-the-torch as Severa makes way for Amália.

Amália

Amália Rodrigues is the most celebrated singer in the history of fado. Beyond her fame as the star-*fadista* of the 20th century, Amália is perhaps the most recognised performer of fado and representative of Portuguese culture. The Portuguese government declared three days of mourning after her death, and she is interned in the National Pantheon in Lisbon, the only female so far to be honoured. She still holds a unique position as a prominent cultural figure in the country and on the 10th anniversary of her

death, her life and career became the subject of museum exhibitions and celebrations in Lisbon.

After winning singing competitions as a teenager, Amália made her professional début, and signed her first contract, at the celebrated *Retiro da Severa*. Throughout the 1930s the *Retiro da Severa* had established itself as the main venue for professional *fadistas*. Among the headlining performers of fado to appear there regularly were Armandinho, Berta Cardoso, Ercilia Costa, and Alfredo Marceneiro, all of whom had also established themselves as leading recording artists – these were the great personalities of the fado. Amália débuted in June 1939 and by 9 August her popularity had reached a point where she was featured in newspaper advertising for the *retiro* as a headliner along with Alfredo Marceneiro, and hailed as the 'revelation of fado' (Santos 1987, 57). This was followed with a recording contract, Portuguese film stardom, tours of Brazil and Spain, and the star attraction in the fado houses and theatres throughout the 1940s. Her fame soon extended to a worldwide audience, as she became the de-facto ambassador of Portuguese culture, a position that would lead to accusations of collusion with the *Estado Novo*, a debate that will be taken up in the concluding chapter.

Capas Negras

For Amália's first film role in *Capas Negras* / *Black Capes* (Armando de Miranda, 1947), the singer plays Maria de Lisboa, a tavern girl in the northern university town of Coimbra. She is in love with José Duarte (Alberto Ribeiro), a university law student and aspiring fado singer. As he is approaching his final exams, the couple are

unsure where their relationship is going, since it is often the case that the university students leave behind broken-hearted Coimbra girls. A misunderstanding leads José to believe that Maria de Lisboa has spent the night with another student, and so he heads off to Porto without her, and soon becomes a successful singer. Their relationship is resolved when she is accused of child abandonment and he returns to Coimbra to defend her at the trial.

Coimbra fado has its own traditions and style distinct from the more popular Lisbon fado. The most significant difference is that Coimbra fado is lyrically more poetic than narrative, relying less on the familiar tropes of *saudade* and melancholy, to craft love poems to serenade women (Brito 1994, 25). Coimbra fado, is therefore, dominated by male *fadistas*, who wear the black cape of the university as the preferred costume. So, the film is as much a starring vehicle for Alberto Ribeiro as it was for Amália. Ribeiro was a much-loved singer on radio and on recordings, and would become Portugal's most popular film personality in the 1950s. The two fado styles are accommodated here with the stars representing one of the styles each along gender lines – Alberto Ribeiro for Coimbra and Amália for Lisbon. Despite being set in Coimbra, Lisbon is still very much a presence in the film with Amália, whose character is named Maria de Lisboa, singing in the Lisbon style, and whose fados are melancholic musings on lost love and abandonment. Her character reminds the audience, not just through her name, but through Amália's presence that Lisbon is never far from any representation of fado even when the city of fado's birth is not visually present.

This film stands apart from the other films in this dissertation in that it does operate as a classical film musical. In *Capas Negras*, the characters sing their feelings, and as in classical film musicals, the fados are direct expressions of their emotions:

> In short, the way in which songs may be an expression – an emanation, a declaration, an indication – of what a character is feeling or what a character is, is not secure, predictable and consistent, but nonetheless the sense of some relation, direct or travailed, between song and the intimacy of individuality is a dominant trope of Western cinema.' (Dyer 2012, 15)

For the majority of the films in this dissertation, fado is incidental to the narrative and always performed for a diegetic audience. As well, the source of the music, the *guitarristas*, are always visible. Fado is staged in these films in much the same way as it would if one were to see a performance live, to show fidelity to the performance practice of fado. The *fadistas* sing fados that are not directly related to their character motivations and feelings, though the songs may relate in some way to the film's narrative, they are not a direct reflection of the singer's emotions. In *Capas Negras*, this is still the case with some of the performances, but fado is also sung to directly express the emotional state of a character for the non-diegetic audience accompanied by a non-diegetic musical score.

This is especially the case with Maria de Lisboa after she is left behind by José without any explanation as to why he has gone. After she has been told that José has left on the morning train to Porto, as Coimbra students have always done, leaving

behind lovers, Maria rushes to the train station. Distraught and alone, she stands on the platform as the train pulls out and wraps herself in a black shawl, thus taking on the accepted uniform of a Lisbon *fadista* (Figure 47), turning to the comfort of fado at a time of suffering.

Wearing a black shawl (Figure 47)

In a park, she sings, 'Minha alma triste,' (My sad soul), for herself, as an expression of *her* feelings, not fado as a general expression *of* feelings. The lyrics directly relate to her situation, of being abandoned and alone:

Volta alma triste	(Come back my sad soul)
Que eu não sou mais hoje à espera	(So that I no longer wait)
Que uma sombre que ainda existe	(What sadness still exists)
Desse alguém querida	(For my dearest)
Que eu descuidada perdi	(Who I carelessly lost)

Accompanied non-diegetically by, not just a *guitarra* and *violão*, but by an orchestra, this is not a performance of fado that seeks to represent the performing of fado as it would be in a fado house, or as a song performed for a diegetic audience. Maria is alone, using fado to give expression to her feelings, a sadness that is underscored by the orchestral music accompanying her. This is fado directly related to the character's narrative situation, performed for the non-diegetic audience. There will even be a brief fado when Maria sits down to write a letter to José, the words of the letter sung completely non-diegetically, a more pointed instance where fado is used to specifically express her feelings (Figure 48).

Non-diegetic fado (Figure 48)

Singing alone in the park, 'Minha alma triste,' also is a prayer; Maria looking for spiritual help at this time of suffering. Amália's distinctive gestural style of singing where her head is tilted back looking above her, the emotion almost too great to be contained, is followed by shots of the sky and clouds; the performance gesture signalling a plea to Heaven, to God, for relief of her sadness. Earlier, when she was told of José's

departure, she turned to prayer, asking God how it could be true that he has left her. It also alludes to the popular belief that fado is a God-given gift and the song that comes from one's soul. And, with Maria removed from Lisbon and fado's iconic spaces, visual representations of fado iconography becomes significant; she wears a pin in the shape of a *guitarra* or she has covered herself in a black shawl (Figures 49 and 50).

(Figure 49)

(Figure 50)

Fado iconography and gesture

Paralleling the opening scene where a group of old academics have gathered in Maria's tavern, Jose' student friends have assembled to drink to Coimbra and love. Maria has confessed that she will no longer think about love, and therefore have no desire to sing fado. Yet, when she is asked by one of the students who has also experienced heart-break, to sing fado for them both, she is unable to resist attending to a communal sense of loss, as fado is the only means by which to bring comfort to the group. The fado, 'Não sei por que te foste embora' (I do not know why you left), is again sung with a non-diegetic orchestra accompaniment and related to her personal story and feelings, the lyrics seeking answers to why she has been abandoned:

Não sei por que te foste embora.	(I do not know why you left.)
Não sei que mal te fiz,	(You don't know what harm you've done,)
Que importa,	(What matters,)
Só sei que o dia corre e àquela hora,	(Is the days and hours go by,)
Não sei por que não vens bater-me à porta.	(And I don't know why you don't come knocking on my door)
Não quero mais encontrar-te,	(I don't wish to see you,)
Nem ouvir-te nem falar-te,	(Nor hear you or speak to you,)
Nem sentir o teu calor.	(Or feel your warmth.)
Porque eu não quero que vejas	(Because I do not want you to see)
Que este amor que não desejas	(This love that you do not wish)
Só deseja o teu amor.	(I just want your love.)

Emboldened by fado, Maria goes to Porto to confront José, only to see him dancing with a woman at a nightclub. Draped in a black shawl, she wanders around a park by the sea. As in the earlier park scene, she looks to the heavens and sings. This is a dark fado suggesting that Maria is emotionally at her lowest, possibly contemplating suicide, a possibility visually evoked via shots of the crashing waves against the rocks below her. She sings of a 'doomed destiny' and a 'black fate' (Teu mau destino, teu negro fado) and praying to not die without her lover (Que é para eu não morrer sem ti). For much of the song, we are shown only Maria's back, a melancholy figure dressed in black with flowing black hair staring out to the ocean (Figure 51). The song ends with Maria walking away from camera, a lone sad figure in black walking through a grand promenade of concrete columns on a sunny day (Figure 52).


(Figure 51) (Figure 52)

The melancholy *fadista*

While Lisbon is represented in the character of Maria de Lisboa in *Capas Negras*, it is Coimbra that is celebrated via fado and the university. After graduation, for example, the students are shown singing ‘Adeus Coimbra’ (Goodbye Coimbra), walking to the outskirts of the city where they then can look down on it as they sing of their feelings for the university and the city (Figure 53). And it is established in the opening scene as a group of elderly academics gather in the tavern to honour one of their own. The conversation often turns to pronouncements of love for Coimbra, and eventually their feelings of devotion need fado to fully express those feelings. However, before they are able to sing, from outside they hear a *guitarra* and singing. Maria is drawn to the window and finds José in black cape emerging from the trees to serenade her (Figure 54). The song, ‘Feiticeira’ (Sorceress) is, in the tradition of Coimbra fado, a love poem:

Ó meu amor,minha linda feitiçeira	(O my love, my beautiful sorceress)
Eu daria a vida inteira	(I'd give a lifetime)

Por um só beijo dos teus	(For one kiss of yours)
[...]	
Por teu amor eu morria de desejo,	(I died for love of desire,)
Deste-me a vida num beijo,	(You gave me life in a kiss,)
E eu vivi p'ra te beijar!	(And I lived to kiss you!)

The song delights in the ecstasy of their love for one another, the camera cutting back and forth between them smiling and gazing wistfully off in the distance (Figure 55).

Students singing ‘Adeus Coimbra’ (Figure 53)

Serenading Maria de Lisboa (Figure 54)

Fado as love song (Figure 55)

And as José finishes singing, Maria replys to his love poem with one of her own, where the trope of crying – the *fadista* who cries singing, or the tears of the *guitarrista*, which has been invoked in some of the films already discussed – is instead reversed (Não cantes a chorar, ó cantador! / Do not sing to cry, O singer!) because Maria's love for José is true, she assures him.

Back in the tavern, the academics are also caught up in the moment, declaring once again their love of 'eternal Coimbra.' As if in reply to this, José sings, 'Coimbra,' a fado accompanied by strings to accentuate the nostalgia for the city. The song's dreamy nostalgia is further highlighted visually with shots of Maria's reflection in water that becomes out of focus as the water ripples. The lyrics are a poetic shopping-list, so to speak, of what is special about Coimbra and the university, invoking the professors as singers of love poems, and where women are compared to books. When José sings that Coimbra is a city of songs, however, he turns directly to the camera, addressing, it seems, the non-diegetic audience (Figure 56). This moment signals that the film regards Coimbra as having a special place in Portuguese culture, a position of high regard and respect. Given that Coimbra is where Salazar was not only a student, but a professor of Economics before being asked to become Portugal's Finance Minister, it is possible that the film is paying respect to the country's Prime Minister.

Addressing the non-diegetic audience (Figure 56)

This connection is most evident in the final trial scene. The trial of Maria de Lisboa for child abandonment is presided over by Dr. Juiz, the academic who was honoured in the opening tavern scene, and who said, 'Coimbra eterna' (eternal Coimbra). She is shown wearing her black shawl, however this time it is no longer worn for its visual reference to fado, but as a piece of costume aiding in the visual look of a pitiable Maria, a disgraced and abandoned woman, completely lost and alone (Figure 57). After the prosecuting attorney has put forth his case, and before José offers his defence, a student in attendance says to those around him in the gallery, 'Silencio! Que se vais cantar o fado' (Silence! Fado is going to be sung), the oft-used phrase to signal that a *fadista* is about to sing so that the audience may show the respect that is expected. Thus, turning the courtroom into a de-facto fado house, and signalling the up-coming performances. José's defence is as much a paean to Coimbra as he declaims its various cultural, historical and mythological associations, 'Coimbra dos cantadores' as he sang in the opening scene. He and Maria were as much products of these associations, as they were for their love of each other and for fado. Jose's defence echoes the speech made by Dr. Juiz in the opening scene and appeals to the academic's own nostalgic view of Coimbra. At the end of his speech he finishes by saying, 'Coimbra' followed by Maria saying 'Coimbra.'

Black shawl no longer costume (Figure 57)

The trial ends with the students, led by José, singing ‘Coimbra’ on the steps of the court-house, drowning out the prosecuting attorney’s final statement. In order to comply with the censor, this scene was re-written so that, in effect, the reason for the trial could be ignored and dispensed with by placing the focus onto Coimbra and fado (Baptista 2009, 38). The final image is of Dr. Juiz walking out to find the students lined up on either side of the steps as they lay their capes on the steps as he walks down in honour to him (Figure 58). There is a striking resemblance between the actor playing Dr. Juiz and Salazar. This final image of respect for authority, and the overall admissions of respect for the institution of the university, does display deference to the state and to its leader, at a time when the regime was moving toward co-opting fado for its own promotion, particularly as there was a growing hunger for liberalising policies in the wake of the allied victory over Nazi Germany.

Respect being shown (Figure 58)

Fado, história d'uma cantadeira

At the time of the film's release in 1947, Amália was Portugal's star-*fadista*. Her first recordings had been released and became the biggest selling 78rpm records in the country. She had successfully toured Brazil twice, and had performed in Madrid to great acclaim. At the film's premiere in Porto, Amália performed live concerts after the screening which resulted in massive crowds that the police were needed to escort her car to the theatre entrance through the adoring throng.

The popular perception was that the film was Amália's actual life story. The belief that the film was autobiographical is in keeping with the fado newspapers having established a tradition of a *fadista's* life following certain patterns. Beginning in the 1920s the fado newspapers and magazines began publishing biographical profiles of *fadistas* for the purpose of 'creating and reproducing a *fadista* memory' (Jerónimo and Fradique 1994, 92). Sociologists Rita Jerónimo and Teresa Fradique, trawled through

the fado newspapers from the 1920s onward discovering 'how the biographical narratives began to reflect an attempt to fit in with a public image which would be recognised by the world of fado' (1994, 91). As fado was becoming more and more established as an acceptable song, the need to begin the process of celebrating the artists became an important tool against those that still perceived fado as disreputable. These biographical profiles first appeared in the 1920s at a time that fado became attacked for its connection to the criminal under-class. In their study of these biographies, Jerónimo and Fradique argue that the fado newspapers were keen to see these profiles as part of the process of legitimising fado (1994, 92).

Beyond the need to deflect the negative criticisms levelled at fado, over the years the biographies served other functions. With fado's popularity growing throughout the 1930s the biographies of the singers became part of the process of professionalising fado, writing about tours to Brazil and phonograph recordings (Jerónimo and Fradique 1994, 92). Eventually these biographies became de facto marketing materials for the *fadistas*. This was especially true in the 1940s when the journalists sought to follow the career of a potential *fadista* from the initial début to success in the theatre and beyond. As Jerónimo and Fradique point out, '[t]he journalists and their articles therefore became fundamental for the elevation of a *fadista* to the status of an artist' (1994, 93). In *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira*, Ana Maria's success is followed by a series of newspaper stories and posters. These legitimise the *fadista* and illustrate fado's importance to the national press and, therefore, the country. The first instance of this occurs after her début at the fado house. The article, complete with picture, announces

the arrival of a future star. This is similar to the actual reports in the fado newspapers that featured biographical profiles of *fadistas*.

There is some question as to whether these biographies were wholly factual. However, denying the validity of the biography becomes inconsequential in light of the acceptance of the fado biography among the aficionados. The *fadistas* were willing, and implicitly encouraged, perpetuating the story that suited the tradition. As Jerónimo and Fradique discovered during their research:

> The most interesting aspect of the conversations with the *fadistas* was the way they defended and reproduced their biographical narratives in the same way they had already been made public [sic]. They regarded the published biographies as an interiorised version of their lives, re-telling them whenever the need arose. (1994, 93)

They also state that the *fadistas*, aware of the promotional opportunity accorded to them by this press coverage, conformed to the image presented through these papers (Jerónimo 1994, 93). This is true of the film and its perceived status as the film biography of Amália:

> I never said anything about the film because it had nothing to do with my life - I did marry a guitarrista and I sold fruit. As for the rest of the film, my mother never sang fado, I did not grow up in Alfama..., and I did not have an impresario who gave me all the things in the film. (Santos 1987, 81)

Amália made this claim to finally dispel the belief that the film was based on her life. This speculation began immediately after the film's release but she never attempted to set the record straight until the publication of her biography in 1987. Not simply a marketing strategy on her part, the allowing of a fake biography to become accepted as truth, is very much a part of fado, as the research of Jerónimo and Fradique uncover.

There is a consensus of sorts that fado has developed in such a way that a *fadista* is a special type of individual. The singer is born with 'fado na alma' (fado in the soul), a gift that is God-given or inherited from parents who sing fado. As a song of fate, it is also believed that the *fadista* is fated to sing fado. The fado biographies contributed greatly to this belief that subsequently the singers felt the need to not discredit these biographies.

After reading through hundreds of these biographical profiles, the researchers came up with this model:

Jerónimo and Fradique Biographical Model of a Fadista (1994, 96)

- Precocious manifestations of an innate vocation and talent.
- Attempts to identify with a traditional *fadista* neighbourhood.
- The family as a barrier, being ambitious for 'an honourable profession.' This barrier was overcome, often due to material necessity.
- The occasion when the singer's worth was publicly acknowledged, either through a third person intermediary or after a contest.

- The *début*, or first official performance.
- Issue of the professional license.
- Beginning to sing at the city's main fado venues with temporary contracts.
- Participation as 'fado ambassadors,' national and international tours.
- Singing at charity functions, verbanas, and theatre revues.
- Perception of the incompatibility of being a 'fado artist' with the exercise of another profession. The point when being a *fadista* became a profession.

Unlike the films in this dissertation that feature fado as an interlude, a stand-alone performance that has little, if anything, to do with the overall narrative, or as the following chapter on the *comédia à portuguesa* films shows, that fado though integrated into the narrative, is still somewhat peripheral, the dramas in this chapter are centred very much on fado and its traditions and iconography. *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira*, in particular, follows the template of the biographical model proposed by Jerónimo and Fradique, demonstrating how fado influenced the Portuguese cinema, incorporating into the narrative what by 1947 was an established practice in fado. What follows is a summary of the plot pointing out how the film adheres quite faithfully to the biographical profile above.

Ana Maria (Amália) is the daughter of a deceased well-loved *fadista*. Her neighbours and friends speak of her admiringly, hinting that Ana Maria also possesses the gift of singing fado in a heartfelt, true way. Ana Maria lives in the Alfama, which

alongside the Mouraria, is the traditional home of fado. The setting evokes the narrow streets and steep inclines of the neighbourhood, and Ana Maria sings in the street at night, recalling the atmosphere of the Alfama as a *bairro* of song and close familial ties. The local fado house proclaims, 'Long Live Alfama,' with a placard at the back of the stage visible throughout Ana Maria's début performance. The neighbourhood is further established as a traditional *fadista* neighbourhood through her fiancé, Júlio's *guitarra* workshop. Not only is this a place of singing fado, but also of crafting the iconic instrument. Later, when Ana Maria performs in the theatre, the set is meant to depict the 'true Alfama,' signalling for the audience that she is a traditional *fadista* further enhancing her credentials.

Ana Maria helps Ma Rosa, her mother's closest friend who took in Ana Maria after her mother died, with her flower stall. She is engaged to Júlio, and together they act as 'parents' for the orphaned Luisinha. Her family encourage her when she is nervous about singing at the fado house for the first time, reminding her of her fado lineage and talent. Her success is shared with them – Ana Maria buys Ma Rosa a radio, the first in the neighbourhood, so that they can gather around and hear her sing now that she will no longer be performing at the local fado house. As she becomes ever more popular and successful, Ma Rosa and Júlio become increasingly worried that she is losing fado and consequently, herself. Júlio in particular, admonishes her for now being nothing more than a singer and no longer a *fadista*. While he coaches her, he is disparaging of pursuing fado as a profession, which he feels takes one away from true fado. Ana Maria argues with him that fado is now a respectable job for a young woman to pursue and not solely a song to be in the streets.

Chico Fadista (António Silva) is the local talent agent who recognises the opportunity to manage Ana Maria's career. He arranges her début performance at the fado house and contacts the journalists of the fado newspapers. He is shown waiting nervously at the entrance waiting for their arrival, and then ushering them to their reserved seats at the front where he joins them during her singing, exchanging appreciative nods and smiles from them. Chico then arranges for her to perform regularly at the fado house, and eventually introduces her to the theatre impresario who will manage Ana Maria's next stage as a national star-*fadista*. Chico is responsible for her local fame but is instrumental in setting her on the way to a successful career.

Ana Maria's début is highly anticipated as has been mentioned at various times above. This performance is a shared experience with her family and friends along with, it seems, the entire neighbourhood as the fado house is overflowing with people occupying every table and standing in every available space. The marquee boldly proclaims that Ana Maria's singing will be a highlight for lovers of fado – a must-see event. Fado journalists are on hand and Chico views this as the beginning of a long and profitable career. The début is set up early on in the film as the anticipated event, discussed by all the characters who mention how much they are looking forward to it, establishing this as a special occasion and pivotal moment in Ana Maria's life.

This may seem inconsequential to include in the film, a necessary bureaucratic task. Nonetheless, it is first mentioned by Chico to Ana Maria right after her début as he insists she acquire the license as soon as possible. The next day she is shown with the license, hiding it in a drawer of clothes. The license is a validation of fado as a

respectable profession, but it also represents a move away from Júlio and the Alfama. For him it is a symbol of accepting the commercial pursuit of fado and a path away from being a 'true *fadista*.'

Ana Maria becomes the headlining act at the fado house and is soon after introduced to Morais, a top theatre impresario. Her short-lived career at the fado house is then followed by singing in the theatre and for special functions. Ana Maria auditions for Morais and his two authors in the theatre while performers rehearse upstage and stage-hands ready the sets. While she sings standing between her guitarists, Morais discusses with his authors the scenario for her stage début. Morais claims that he wants a typical set that has the feeling of the Alfama. Following her success in the theatre, Ana Maria is asked to sing for a gala benefit show attended by the elite of Lisbon where three young women are crowned, 'Queens of the Night.'

This gala show is then followed by a special invite to the home of the Spanish Ambassador who is entertaining royal dignitaries, aristocrats, and officials where the Ambassador asks her for the honour of singing a Spanish flamenco. Shortly after this she embarks on her first international tour, jetting off to Brazil and promising the Ambassador to also tour Spain.

Most tellingly for the film's narrative, Ana Maria's move from amateur to professional provides the dramatic tension between the *fadista* and her family. This is especially drawn out in her arguments with Ma Rosa and Júlio, who feel that she is forgetting about the Alfama and fado, sacrificing her true talent and her relationship with family and friends, as she pursues the profession of fado.

The film can be divided in two sections – before the theatre and after – or amateur and then professional. Before her success in the theatre Ana Maria is a 'true' *fadista* according to Júlio and her other friends in the Alfama. After her appearance in the theatre she becomes a star, and loses her connection to fado, and, again using Júlio as the touchstone character, she no longer is a *fadista* but just a singer.

The Amateur

Prior to her début, Ana Maria's credentials as a *fadista* are established – she is the daughter of a well-loved *fadista* who passed away when Ana Maria was a child. The opening image of the film is of a *guitarra* on a kitchen table and establishes the film firmly in the world of fado (Figure 59). Joaquim (Vasco Santana), one of the old-timers of the neighbourhood, fondly remembers her mother, proclaiming that she possessed the 'best voice the Alfama heard in years.' While Ana Maria expresses nervousness and doubt, the men – Joaquim, Chico Fadista (the ever-present António Silva), and Júlio (Virgílio Teixeira) – are quick to pronounce that her performance will be spectacular and that she is destined to be a great *fadista*.

Iconographic instrument (Figure 59)

The fado house where she will perform is the neighbourhood *retiro*. The choice of the name, 'Retiro dos Unidos,' is a celebration of the Lisbon district closely associated with fado's origins. This is a place where 'true' fado is heard and loved and the name sets up the fado house in stark contrast to the theatre where Ana Maria will perform when she becomes a star. This fado house is similar to previous representations in Portuguese films. There is the trellised stage-set, complete with potted plants reminiscent of the outdoor cafe of *A Canção de Lisboa* (1933). It may be that this set is attempting to draw comparison to the *Retiro da Severa*, where Amália made her actual début, further enhancing the film's narrative as ostensibly Amália's story (Figure 60). Ana Maria in *Fado* will make her début at the *Retiro dos Unidos* (Figure 61). In its decor there is an obvious connection to the *Retiro da Severa* with its trellised proscenium stage and potted plants. This garden theme, which is also used in *O Costa do Castelo* (1943), I believe allows for disassociation with the darker, dangerous taverns of fado's early days, attempting to replace the association to the notorious areas of the

Alfama and Mouraria at night. At night there was a greater sense of danger because of the lack of lighting and narrow streets contributing to a sinister, claustrophobic setting. Interestingly, the film set of the Alfama reconstructs this dark, narrow street claustrophobia.

Retiro da Severa circa 1930s (Figure 60)

Retiro dos Unidos (Figure 61)

However, this cinematic representation of the Alfama is an idealisation where the criminal connection is replaced with a poetic-realist mise-en-scène, and a nostalgic romanticism. The city of Lisbon, as is the case in all the films in this dissertation, translates the traditional values of rural villages, and also the appearance of a small

village by centering much of the action in a small courtyard space, though this creates a claustrophobic ambience that does run counter to a bucolic setting. The Alfama of Ana Maria exists within this set where her home is next to her guardian, the tavern, and Júlio's *guitarra* shop. The neighbourhood is close-knit, both in personal relationships and in its space.

The first glimpse of the *Retiro dos Unidos* allows us to take in the decor of the fado house and establish the space as an authentic setting of fado. On stage, Carlos Ramos is singing. Ramos is shown mid-song playing his own *guitarra* standing on the stage with his right leg on a chair. In a way, this prevents us from closely identifying with Ramos, and like in *A Severa* where a *fadista* sings with her back to camera before Severa is heard and shown, keeps the focus of the narrative on fado and the main character. Carlos Ramos was a leading artist, popular in the *casas do fado* and through his recordings, thus showing that the *Retiro dos Unidos* as a venue for attracting top talent.

The *retiro* is a place where the residents of the Alfama come together to share in a love of fado, but also to unite as a community. This they will do for Ana Maria's début showing support and a sense of neighbourhood that places fado at its heart. This is further reinforced with the additional sign that appears prominently on the stage, directly behind the performers, that reads, 'Viva Alfama,' (Long Live the Alfama). The placement of this sign means that it will be visible at almost all times during the performance sequence, far more prominent than the name of the *retiro* itself which is far above the performer's heads. The significance of the naming becomes ever more significant after Ana Maria becomes a star and moves away from her family and friends

in the Alfama and further away from what Júlio believes is 'authentic' fado – not the commercialised version she sings at the theatre and for the radio. Her loss of 'authentic' fado and her turning away from the Alfama ultimately leads to her betrayal of the song when she agrees to sing a Spanish *flamenco* instead of a fado at the Ambassador's mansion, a performance that also coincides with her absence during Luisinha's death.

Ana Maria's début sequence differs markedly from fado film-style. No longer is the performance isolated from the plot of the film. Any tentative attempt at narrative integration seen in the earlier films comes across as awkward, and very quickly fado is discarded in favour of the established story arc: fado comes to Vasco's rescue but its presence was only hinted before, and Vasco quits fado for medicine; Costa teaches fado but after his pupil's successful début, the love story takes over. In *Fado* there are cutaways to family and friends in the audience, smiles on their faces, exchanging looks of approval and pride, and the propensity of these shots, and in isolated close-ups, reinforces the bond of family and community – Ana Maria's success is also theirs. And the love story is visually present. Ana Maria sings with her hands on Júlio's shoulders, a physical sign of her affection for him, and it would seem she gains strength from this touch as she has previously stated her nervousness over the début (Figure 62). She also gains strength from her religious faith, as she crosses herself during the instrumental opening.

Gaining strength from Júlio (Figure 62)

The film's adoration of fado is coupled with unease at what modern fado is becoming. The old guitar maker's words of warning to Júlio early on in the film come to mind here – 'do not let fado become a business.' The move to professionalisation, the uniformity of the fado houses, the licensing of the performers and performance spaces, the censoring of lyrics and the homogenisation of performance practice is presented with an air of scepticism. The more successful Ana Maria becomes, the further she is removed from her family and the Alfama, the sadder her story becomes. The fado that she sings here raises the question, exactly who is she singing fado for? Titled, 'O fado de cada um' (We All Have Fado), it speculates that Ana Maria feels locked into singing fado because of the legacy of her mother, though she is not sure whether it is what she desires, especially with the lines, 'Na minha voz soluçando' (You'll guess from my sobbing voice), 'Que eu finjo ser quem não sou.' (That I pretend to be who I'm not). The lyrics tell us that no matter what she wishes – we learn that a growing tension between

her and Júlio is due to his reluctance to finally commit to marriage – her destiny as a *fadista* cannot be escaped:

Bem pensado	(If you think about it)
Todos temos nosso fado	(We all have our fate)
E quem nasce malfadado,	(And those who are born ill-fated)
Melhor fado não terá!	(Ill-fated shall remain.)
Fado é sorte	(Fado means fate)
E do berço até a morte,	(And from one's cradle to one's grave)
Ninguém foge,	(No one escapes it,)
Por mais forte	(Strong though one is,)
Ao destino que Deus dá!	(It's the destiny God gave us.)
No meu fado amargurado	(In my painful fate,)
A sina minha	(My destiny)
Bem clara se revelou	(Was clearly revealed).
Pois cantando	(You will go on singing)
Seja quem for adivinha	(And whoever you are,)
Na minha voz soluçando	(You'll guess from my sobbing voice)
Que eu finjo ser quem não sou!	(That I pretend to be who I'm not.)
Bem pensado	(If you think about it)
Todos temos nosso fado	(We all have our fate)
E quem nasce malfadado,	(And those who are born ill-fated)
Melhor fado não terá!	(Ill-fated shall remain.)
Fado é sorte	(Fado means fate)
E do berço até a morte,	(And from one's cradle to one's grave)
Ninguém foge,	(No one escapes it,)
Por mais forte	(Strong though one is,)
Ao destino que Deus dá!	(It's the destiny God gave us.)
Bom seria	(It would be good)
Poder um dia	(If one day we could)
Trocar-te o fado	(Change our fate)

Por outro fado qualquer	(For any other fate)
Mas a gente já traz o fado marcado	(But our destiny is an ordained fate)
E nenhum mais inclemente	(And none is harsher)
Do que este de ser mulher!	(Than the fate of being a woman)
Bem pensado	(If you think about it)
Todos temos nosso fado	(We all have our fate)
E quem nasce malfadado,	(And those who are born ill-fated)
Melhor fado não terá!	(Ill-fated shall remain.)
Fado é sorte	(Fado means fate)
E do berço até a morte,	(And from one's cradle to one's grave)
Ninguém foge,	(No one escapes it,)
Por mais forte	(Strong though one is,)
Ao destino que Deus dá!	(It's the destiny God gave us!)

Though the lyrics and her pronouncements to Júlio about marriage suggest that she is not a willing a participant in her pursuit of a professional career, she nonetheless, does enjoy it and craves the attention. But perhaps that is the point – that the further removed she is from her traditional, community-oriented roots, the more decadent she will become, and this sequence luxuriates in the traditional environment of the neighbourhood fado house, with a *fadista* performing for family and friends. The final shot from the stage stresses this point, with the camera looking out at the audience from behind Ana Maria (Figure 63).

Ana Maria performing for family and friends (Figure 63)

Various characters have talked about her mother, a much-loved *fadista* of the Alfama, and this connection to fado hints that her singing will be exceptional – she is fated to be a *fadista*. That this talent is innate will only affirm Júlio's conviction that she remain true to fado. The début establishes her as possessing the necessary talent and background for a *fadista* and he fear that by turning professional she will be led further away from being a *fadista*. At the height of her success he comments that she no longer is a *fadista* but is just another singer. During these early scenes, Ana Maria is visually tied to fado through images that match her with the *guitarra*. This connection is established with the first image of the film of a *guitarra* on a table. Soon Júlio will play this *guitarra* while Ana Maria sings a few lines of fado to calm her nerves before her début. In the first half of the film, Ana Maria is regularly accompanied by Júlio but this will eventually end as she becomes successful. Her attachment to fado also acts as a metaphor for her relationship to Júlio, and presumably her love of him is matched by her love of fado – the two are intertwined.

This twinning is wonderfully handled in a rehearsal sequence, a long montage of scenes that show Ana Maria rehearsing various fados with Júlio. The sequence begins with a close-up of the *guitarra* as the melody is established. The camera then moves along the frets to the elaborate fan and Ana Maria. This visual match is held throughout this first song (Figure 64). After having thrilled the audience in the Alfama fado house, there is little doubt that she is a true *fadista*, as this first rehearsal scene illustrates. She sings fado with the *guitarra* constantly in the frame with her, not dominating the instrument, but in harmony with it. The pairing of voice and instrument is essential for fado and this is represented in the film both visually and aurally.

The *fadista* and the *guitarra* (Figure 64)

The second rehearsal in the montage contains dialogue between Ana Maria and Júlio. The dialogue is playful and it turns out was improvised by Amália and Virgílio. In an interview, Virgílio commented that this improvising allowed them to become more

comfortable with one another, which then was reflected in the scenes between the two, and led to Amália and Virgílio becoming close friends thereafter.[18]

Rather than the focus being on fado, this rehearsal is meant to provide the audience with a more intimate sense of Ana Maria and Júlio having a close working, as well as, romantic relationship. Reminiscent of her début performance, Ana Maria stands behind Júlio with her hands on his shoulders, emphasising them as a couple and not on her as a *fadista* (Figure 65). There is also a sense in these rehearsals that Ana Maria is very reliant on Júlio for her singing. This will later factor in the break-up of their relationship, both romantically and professionally when she stings him with the insult that he is merely a guitarist.

Ana Maria's love for Júlio (Figure 65)

[18]Taken from an interview with Virgílio Teixeira on the DVD of the film.

There are other rehearsals with dialogue but only two that solely focus on the love story. The above rehearsal is the first and the other is the fourth in the montage. This rehearsal is filmed using a standard shot/reverse shot where the singing of fado is secondary to the establishing of the couple's love for one another.

The third rehearsal begins similarly to the first with a close-up on the *guitarra's* sound hole and fingers picking the strings. The camera follows the frets where we see the chord hand and the decorative fan. Then there is a dissolve to Ana Maria and Júlio, in profile, looking into each other's eyes (Figure 66). After some singing and dialogue, a dissolve back to the *guitarra* ends this rehearsal scene. Fado book-ends this rehearsal just as it opens and closes the film. Ana Maria may move away from the Alfama and flamenco, but it is fado that is there at the beginning and at the end.

Ana Maria and the *guitarra* (Figure 66)

The fifth rehearsal sees a reversal of the two previous camera moves involving the *guitarra*. This time the camera opens on the fan and ends on the sound hole, before

favouring Ana Maria. These camera moves, the centering of the *guitarra*, and the visual matching with Ana Maria, contribute to foregrounding fado, not simply as a song on the soundtrack, but as an equal protagonist in the film's narrative. Ana Maria is being established as a *fadista* of rare quality with a strong connection to the music.

The final rehearsal in this sequence begins the shift from Ana Maria as *fadista* to a singer in the theatre. From a close-up of Ana Maria there is then a return to the trinity of *fadista* and guitarists. The rehearsal is interrupted by Chico Fadista entering with the theatre impresario, Morais, who will sign Ana Maria to a contract and begin the process of turning her into a star and taking her further away from fado and the Alfama.

The Professional

The shift from amateur to professional, though initiated shortly after her début with her applying for a professional license, begins with her audition for Morais, and subsequent début in the theatre. She is by this point a legitimate professional *fadista*, according to the bureaucratic definition, but she has continued to perform exclusively at the *Retiro dos Unidos*, so still ostensibly performing for her family, friends and neighbours. The audition takes her outside her community of Alfama for the first time. Ana Maria sings for Morais and his two writers in the theatre while performers rehearse upstage and stage-hands ready the set. This scene shifts the focus from *fadista* to singer. While she sings standing between her guitarists, hands on Júlio's shoulders – so still connected physically to the Alfama via her attachment to Júlio – Morais discusses with his authors the scenario for her stage début. Morais claims that he wants a typical set

that has the feeling of the Alfama. The men somewhat ignore her singing, more interested in planning how to present her to a Lisbon theatre audience. What will the set be? How will she be costumed? What is the 'story' for her performance? Fado, itself, and Ana Maria for that matter, are less significant at this stage than the theatrical presentation beyond the song and the singer. Fado is in the process of being neutered, made less relevant to Ana Maria over the course of the film.

The set for her theatre début is as Morais described – it attempts to capture the feeling of the Alfama. Ana Maria is standing on some steps outside a tenement building. The stage-Alfama is not too dissimilar to the studio set of the film itself. In the background there are buildings crammed together, seemingly climbing over top of another in the claustrophobic way that the Alfama is designed for the film (Figures 67 and 68).

Representing the Alfama for the theatre (Figure 67)

The film-set Alfama (Figure 68)

As she walks away from the steps she emerges from a large *guitarra* – the Alfama set is hidden behind this massive structure. How the audience in the theatre have been able to see her at the beginning of the song is anybody's guess, but this performance is really for the audience in a movie theatre. At one point it appears that Amália is singing directly to the camera, the illusion that she is looking past the camera to the diegetic audience completely disregarded. In the first part of the film Ana Maria has been matched with the *guitarra*, her credentials as a *fadista* having been put forward. With this performance she is now paired with a billboard *guitarra*, and Júlio sits in the orchestra pit – she is now physically distant from the instruments. She walks away from the Alfama street scene, lingers for a while in the massive sound hole, and eventually leaves the *guitarra* and the Alfama behind her to take her place centre stage as the star singer (Figure 69).

Walking away from the ‘Alfama’ (Figure 69)

Stepping away from the theatre-set *guitarra* and the theatre-set Alfama, Ana Maria is leaving behind her family, and the amateur fado that Júlio claims is the ‘authentic’ fado. The fado she sings is titled, ‘Não sei quem és’ (I don’t know who you are) – she does not know fado:

O fado!	(Oh Fado!)
Torturado!	(So tortured!)
Tão magoado!	(So hurt!)
Quem te fez?	(Who made you?)
O fado!	(Oh Fado!)
Não sei quem é!	(I don't know who you are!)
Só sei que ouvi-te um dia e chorei	(I know that one day, I heard you and I cried,)
E ao encontrar, te encontrei	(And that upon finding you)
Na voz do amor português!	(I found the voice of Portuguese love!)
O vida	(Oh life)
Condoida	(Sympathetic)
Se eu, dorida,	(And I, hurting)
Vou cantar	(Shall sing)
O vida,	(Oh life,)

Vens-me falar.	(Come talk to me.)
E a sós	(And alone)
Quando o luar canta em nós	(When the moonlight sings within us)
Na voz do fado oiço a voz	(In the voice of Fado I hear the voice)
Da minha vida a chorar.	(Of my life crying.)
É um sonho! Tão risonho!	(My dream! So pleasing!)
Que eu suponho	(That I even dream)
Nem sonhar!	(That I'm not dreaming!)
Ah, é um sonho,	(My dream,)
Quero acordar!	(I want to wake up!)
Volver de novo ao fado e sofrer,	(I return again to Fado and I suffer,)
Porque sofrer é viver	(Because suffering is living)
E eu vivo e sofro a cantar!	(And I live and suffer singing!)

Standing alone on the stage, her back to the mock Alfama and billboard *guitarra*, Ana Maria is betraying the fado of her family and community. But, in the most shocking act of betrayal, Ana Maria, at the moment of Luisinha's death, is singing a Spanish *flamenco* at a party at the Spanish Ambassador's residence. This is not necessarily an act of betrayal against fado itself, as she has refused to sing the requested fado because there are no *guitarristas* present. Lila Ellen Gray (2007, 112) has argued that the representation of *saudade* in a fado performance is an affectation, an act. A performance of *saudade*, rather than the true depiction of one's *saudade*. When singing a true *fadista* should never cry, as this would disrupt the singing and end the song. Gray writes:

> While singing may elicit tears, while many lyrics reference tears, crying, sobbing, and affects of melancholy, containing reflexive discourse which links both fado and fado sound to

> crying,...actual crying by the singer would threaten rupture of form, making it impossible to continue to sing. (117)

This 'rupture of form' occurs when Ana Maria arrives too late at Luisinha's bed-side. She sings 'Fado cada um,' but barely finishes the first verse, collapsing in tears. The musical score then takes over for her and we get a very typical emotive music cue. The implication seems to be that the loss she feels is too great for fado to express; there is no catharsis for her, or us, in the singing of fado. As Gray notes, '[s]ingers do speak of the catharsis they achieve by singing fado, but this is a highly stylized catharsis sustained within the strict confines of form; the voice might tremble upon a cry but must not break sobbing' (118).

Ana Maria's growing isolation from her roots is further emphasised earlier in the film. As her family will not be for the theatre performances, Ana Maria buys Luisinha a radio so she will be able to hear her sing, the child now confined to a wheelchair after an accident that occurred while Ana Maria and Júlio were arguing over her career – a suggestion that abandoning the Alfama, and turning one's back on 'authentic' fado in pursuit of success, has tragic consequences. Ana Maria's neglect of Luisinha, despite the little girls continuing adoration for her, suggests that Ana Maria is disrupting the orderly 'family' that was shown in the opening of the film – Júlio, Ana Maria and Luisinha enjoying breakfast together. The radio connects the community to Ana Maria as she sings away from the Alfama for the first time. Members of her family and friends gather happily around the radio enjoying her success. However, there is a false sense of community created here. While they are able to hear her, they are not physically able to

see her and therefore offer the encouraging support that they provided in the *Retiro dos Unidos*. The radio may maintain a community connection but it is an alienating presence – it affirms the growing sense of dislocation Ana Maria experiences with the Alfama. Thus, she is no longer a *fadista* by Júlio's defintion, but is moving toward becoming a singer of songs. She will later admit that she no longer knows how to sing.

As her alienation from Júlio and her family deepens, her distance from herself and her accompanists when she does sing widens. Júlio remains in the orchestra pit in the theatre; the guitarists at the 'Queens of the Night' gala are positioned behind her; and the orchestra at the Ambassador's house are behind her as well. Only when she returns to the Alfama at the end does she join Júlio and the musicians on stage. Júlio has taken Luisinha's death, and his sense of Ana Maria's betrayal, very hard, turning to drink for solace. With nothing left to keep him in Lisbon, he decides to emigrate to Africa. A benefit concert is thrown for him at the *Retiro dos Unidos*, and this provides the setting for Ana Maria to return to the Alfama and to Júlio. As he struggles on stage attempting to play the *guitarra*, she surprises him with her appearance and begins to sing 'Fado da cada um.' She wraps herself in Ma Rosa's shawl, and the final piece of acceptance occurs when she joins Júlio on the stage, once again standing among the guitarists.

Fado Malhoa

In the short film, *Fado Malhoa* (Augusto Fraga, 1947), Amália portrays the prostitute from the iconographic painting of fado's early years as a song of transgression

and association with persons of ill-repute. As discussed in chapter 1, José Malhoa's 1910 painting, *O Fado*, depicts the *fadista* Amâncio and his mistress, the prostitute Adelaide de Facada, in her room on Rua do Capelão in the Mouraria. The Amália short film also reproduces the paintings mise-en-scene and protagonists in a detailed, faithful representation, albeit with the exception that the Amália film is far more subdued in its representation of the painting's lurid mood.

The film begins with Amália walking into a room where Malhoa's painting hangs. She is wearing a black shawl over her shoulders, and upon seeing the painting, covers herself up, drawing her left arm over her chest (Figure 70), suggesting a sense of modesty more in keeping with the conservative Catholic mood of the day then with the sexualised prostitute. The black shawl also signifies Amália's fado-ness, as it is an iconographic piece of clothing deemed a necessary costume for a *fadista*. She is captivated by the painting, a series of cuts back and forth between her gazing at particular details of the painting (Figure 71), but Facada's exposed neck and cleavage is off-set by Amália's modest covering up. She is fascinated by Facada but will not be associated with the overt sexuality of a prostitute.

Covering up (Figure 70)

Facada's exposed neckline (Figure 71)

There is then a dissolve to Amália as Facada, before widening out to reveal her in a room similar to the painting and a *guitarrista* sitting opposite her (Figures 72 and 73). Again, the film strives to faithfully reproduce the painting, but with this film, the focus is on Amália as Amália, and not as Facada, although there is a complex pairing of

the singer with the continuity of the iconic representation. Her initial actions establish her sense of modesty, but now she is playing a role. While her costume is far more conservative than what is depicted in the painting, it still allows for an association with the seedier elements of fado's traditional representations.

Becoming Facada (Figure 72)

Striking the poses of the painting (Figure 73)

In an interview, Amália revealed that it was her intention with this film to do an 'Amáliazada,' that is, she was intending to represent the figure in the painting (assumed in this case to be Maria Severa) as more a representation of herself (quoted in Baptista 2009, 100). Tiago Baptista (2009, 100) notes that rather than Amália adjusting her image to Severa (as understood in relation to the painting), Severa is adjusted to suit the image of Amália. Thus, the modest woman that enters into a daydream inspired by the painting does not adapt to the sexual openness of Facada, or Severa, but instead the singer performs a neutered and respectable version of the paintings prostitute. Her white camisole is less revealing than the previous representations, and her smoking of a cigarette appears more like an affectation. The frequent close-ups of Amália also draw our attention away from the paintings associations with fado's transgressive origins, instead focusing on her as star-*fadista* (Figure 74). It is important to remember here that in this short film, the woman is singing and not the man – the woman is silent in the original painting and in the 1923 film, her own melancholy and story of fate left to the man to sing for her.

Amália – the star-*fadista* (Figure 74)

Cantiga da rua

In *Cantiga da rua* (Henrique Campos, 1949) Alberto Ribeiro plays Alberto, a Lisbon *fadista* dreaming of a career beyond the fado houses. Fado alone is not enough to satisfy his ambitions as a singer/songwriter. He longs to move to Madrid and try his luck at being given a recording contract. His father, Gaspar (Manuel Santos Carvalho), wants Alberto to stop pursuing music and help him run his shoe store. Family friend, Maria da Luz (Deolinda Rodrigues), also a *fadista*, encourages Alberto to move to Madrid, though she wishes that he would stay and marry her. Money is stolen from Gaspar's home and he accuses Alberto in the theft, believing that he will use the money to go to Madrid. Estranged from his father Alberto leaves Lisbon, and in Madrid, after some hardship, is signed to a contract and returns to Lisbon a recording star.

Fado, though celebrated and respected in the film as the song of Lisbon, and the catalyst for Alberto's reconciliation with his father, its position as *canção nacional* is somewhat undermined by Alberto's dissatisfaction with just being a *fadista*. It is clear from the start of the film that Alberto is looking beyond singing in fado houses. He is shown standing outside an opera theatre listening to a tenor singing an aria from an Italian opera by Donizetti. Alberto casts a forlorn figure in the rain, a man who dreams of a career as a singer on the big stages. As he walks away he turns back to cast another glance at the opera theatre when he hears the sound of thunderous applause. Later when he performs in the fado house, the size of the audience and the applause, although enthusiastic, does not match the longed-for size of success that he imagined when outside the opera theatre. Fado is, from the opening, presented as a limiting song in that

it does not reach an audience beyond Portugal. Curiously, Amália's appeal as a *fadista* had reached Brazil and Spain, and she would shortly embark on tours of France, England and the United States of America, achieving international stardom.

Not a *fadista* alone, Alberto Ribeiro's performing style is less like a fado performance and more like that of a professional singer of various styles. Alberto Ribeiro utilises a less ornamented *voltinha* vocal turn than the female *fadistas* in the style popularised by Amália. His singing may not contain the vocal signatures that have dominated the performing of fado in the film dramas, but it is not without emotion (Figure 75).

Albert Ribeiro (Figure 75)

If his performance lacks the vocal cues that the *fadista* had mentioned to Lila Ellen Gray discussed earlier in this dissertation, his lightness of sound is where the emotion lies. He does not linger on a note, or prolong vowel notes in the way that the Amália style delays the expectation for the listener, thus drawing out the emotional impact, but his singing relies on a lightness of tone that, coming from a man, elicits a

sense of heartbreak. And when he sings a song that is not a fado, his performance remains consistent, in the same way that Amália sings *flamenco* in *Fado, história d'uma cantadeira*, and translates her *fadista* performance to other song-forms.

The contrast in style is made evident when Deolinda Rodrigues performs fado in *Cantiga da rua*. Alberto has moved to Madrid but has not achieved any success, and at Christmas is sat in his tiny, squalid flat, alone and hungry burning sheet music and reading a letter from Deolinda. The words in the letter become the lyrics to a fado, 'Fado da Carta', that Deolinda sings as an apparition to Alberto:

Todo o meu afecto	(All my affection)
Por la te acompanha!	(For it accompanies you!)
Por vida minha,	(For my life,)
Poucas novidades	(Little news)
Vivo mais sozinha!	(I live alone!)
Tenho mais saudades!	(I miss you!)

Her extended *voltinhas*, expressive hands and face in high contrast lighting surrounded by shadow draws our focus even more to her performance. Her voice and gestures when compared to Alberto's performance of fado result in a performance intended to be viewed and felt as possessing an almost unbearable emotional intensity, as she appears to be reaching out of the apparition to Alberto in his flat in Madrid (Figure 76).

Reaching out to Alberto (Figure 76)

How much of the emotional impact of the scene is solely to do with fado and the perception of the song as the sonic representation of emotionality and *saudade*, and how much is due to the narrative situation and the visual style? The intimacy shared between the lovers, and the heartbreak at the distance that separates them, is visually portrayed via the high-contrast lighting and deep shadows, as in the scene of the soldiers in *João Ratão* (1940). The communal spirit of fado performed in a fado house or for family and friends, the dominant representation of fado in the films, draws on fado's mythology, iconography and cultural significance so that the song is rarely a personal story of emotion. The letter motif, used in *Capas Negras* (1947), means that the fado is removed from those representations to some extent, to focus entirely on the song within the film's narrative. Therefore, the song is being used as an emotional expression of the characters, specifically, and works in a more straight-forward film musical style.

The fado house in *Cantiga da rua* is styled on the *casa típica* (Typical House), a type of restaurant/fado house that catered to tourists and glorified the folkloric aspects of fado traditions but not the marginal associations (Nery 2004, 229). Unlike the fado houses or taverns depicted in the earlier films, this time the fado house is more in keeping with those favoured by the regime after World War Two and into the 1950s when fado and these venues were marketed to tourists. The idea was to mimic the folklorised view of early fado associations without drawing on the marginal aspects of fado's early years. In effect this was a further move to sanitise fado and bring it more in line with the overall cultural and political goals of the regime. The fado house is as much a restaurant at it is a venue solely for the performing of, and listening to, fado.

The scene contains what are now standard shots for a fado performance in a film, that is, there are various cuts to appreciative patrons who not only sit transfixed by the performance, but who acknowledge their appreciation with knowing nods to one another, not only demonstrating their understanding of fado's traditions, history and significance as the national song, but also Alberto's reputation as a *fadista*. The walls in the fado house in this film are covered with pictures of familiar *fadistas*, past and present, and folkloric Portuguese iconography, such as a model of the Portuguese caravel, the ship of the Age of Discoveries. The opening shot of a man at a candlelit table perusing a menu while a waitress awaits his order is shown as we hear the opening notes of the guitars (Figure 77). The fado house in this instance is fashioned along the lines of the *casas tipicas* that cropped up after 1945 in an attempt to cater to the growing tourist trade, but also as a further step in the legimatisation of fado as a

respectable song tradition and national cultural signifier of a national identity. It is during these years that the Salazar government became more interested in the manipulation of fado. No longer is the fado house a place of community as in this film all of Lisbon is celebrated rather than a specific neighbourhood.

Perusing the menu in the *casa típica* (Figure 77)

The camera pans across the audience who sit at tables in what appears to be a cavernous cellar all looking in the same direction, presumably the stage, meals discarded for the moment as they give their full attention to the performance (Figure 78). When we finally see the singer and guitarists, they are not on a stage as per the earlier films, but are sat at a table among the patrons, Alberto standing between the two seated guitarists.

Listening to fado (Figure 78)

The *casa típica* affirms Alberto's status as a *fadista* whose talent is undeniable even if he must leave Lisbon for Madrid to become a star and then make a triumphant return. His journey of success demonstrates that Portugal, although a small country can make an impact in the world, regardless of how difficult it may be or how long it may take for the rest of the world to understand that Portugal is a power on the world stage. Salazar stressed that the country was one of the major imperial powers still left in the world, and moved to consolidate Portugal's overseas territories. Fado as the expression of the Portuguese soul is ideally suited to display the uniqueness of Portugal's culture and represent its global status as an imperial power by inspiring Alberto to compose songs that will appeal to world audiences. Curiously, in the end, it is not a fado that makes him a star, but a crooner's ballad; fado is still the song of Lisbon and Portugal, and while it may be growing in popularity outside the country due to Amália's success, it is not the song that this film claims will appeal outside Portugal.

Where the fado house would be a place where family and friends gather and affirm their sense of community as it does in *Fado,* in *Cantiga da rua* the *casa típica* becomes the site where a father is reminded how much he loves his son. Alberto is accused by his father of stealing money from him so that he can fund his trip to Madrid. Alberto leaves Lisbon having been disowned and his time in Madrid is difficult and lonely at first, leaving him to burn his sheet music for heat in his small flat. His father meanwhile begins to perceive the harshness of his decision, and eventually learns of Alberto's innocence and his *saudade* for his son becomes acute. In order to understand his son's decision to seek his musical fortune in Madrid, he visits the *casa típica* to understand why his son was a *fadista*. There is an instrumental fado being played as he walks around the *casa típica* staring at the pictures on the walls until he comes to Alberto's picture, and here, where fado is performed, listened, and loved, he comes to understand how the song expresses *saudade*. By coming to the fado house he is reconciled to his son through fado and we understand that he need not actually come face-to-face with him, fado allows for that reconciliation to occur emotionally.

Gaspar sees Alberto's photograph (Figure 79)

Conclusion

In this chapter fado is not only performed as a stand-alone performance for a diegetic audience aware of the conventions of fado's performance practice, but as a sonic expression of a character's personal narrative and feelings. These fado dramas place the history, traditions, iconography, musicians and singers at the centre of the narrative. The towering figures of Maria Severa and Amália Rodrigues figure prominently in their own film biographies – mythical and supposed – lending fado popular legitimacy against accusations of moral decadence. However, the gap in years between *A Severa* (1931) and *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira* (1947) does expose the shifts in attitude toward fado and the *Estado Novo*. Maria Severa's sexuality is not fully contained in *A Severa*, though in the end, she must give way if fado is to be embraced as the national song. Yet, the film does not shy away from the sexual promiscuity at a time when authoritarianism was taking hold and fado was being attacked as a song of ill-repute. By the time of the Amália films in 1947, the *Estado Novo* regime was beginning to look to fado's popularity to counter the feelings of liberalism in the wake of the Allied victory in World War Two. These post-World War Two films no longer display the contradictions of the earlier films: of fado as a song of transgressive marginals and of a more conservative national song. Instead, they wrestle with 'authentic', or amateur fado, and the professional, increasingly institutionally standardised fado.

The next chapter will explore the films of the *comédia à portuguesa* that still deal with representations of transgression and status quo while utilising fado as just one piece in a narrative of comedic moments and songs.

Chapter Four

Fado in the comédia à portuguesa

Introduction

The *comédia à portuguesa*, literally 'Portuguese-style comedy films,' is a cinematic tradition that borrows heavily from the *teatro de revista*, a Portuguese revue theatre of songs, comedy sketches, and dances. The films referred to as *comédia à portuguesa* dominated Portuguese film production in the 1930s and 1940s. It is indicative of the Portuguese film industry during these years to point out that a dominant genre only comprised seven films, which is a meagre corpus of films for a genre in terms relative to other film-producing nations. It was a successful cinematic tradition for the industry, however, achieving widespread popularity among Portuguese audiences, as well as appealing to the émigré Portuguese community in Brazil.

As discussed in chapter one, the application of genre studies to the Portuguese cinema is one of nuance. The gap in production years between one film and another similar film, the lack of genre critical discourse and the small number of films comprising a genre, complicates the discussion of genre in Portuguese cinema. To reiterate a point made in the first chapter, rather than genre, one might more usefully think of a cycle of films or a trend across films. However, in the case of the comedies, the generic elements across the films are such that the term does not seem ill-applied.

Centred around life in the *bairros* (neighbourhoods) of Lisbon, the *comédia à portuguesa* feature a mix of lower and upper-class characters who by film's end have come together in some form of happy union, usually through marriage. Traditional values of family, patriarchy and hierarchy are rigidly adhered to, along with a fascination with modern technology such as the radio and the car. This blending of tradition with the modern is a main feature of these films which demonstrate that village ideals, for example, can be easily and successfully transposed to the modern urban centre of Lisbon. Often the plots turn on the misunderstanding of relationships so that lower class characters pretend to be rich, while the upper class downplays their privilege. The *comédia* is also influenced by the Portuguese *teatro de revista*, a type of vaudeville and music hall, not only in its style, but through the association of performers and writers who worked in both mediums.

Harmony is the goal, not only for individual characters, but for the community, and singing is often the expression of harmonious community spirit. Often this has resulted in a description of the *comédia* as a genre of songs, particularly fado. However, not all the films feature songs. *O pai tirano* / *The Tyrannical Father* (António Lopes Ribeiro, 1941) and *O leão da Estrela* / *The Lion of Estrela* (Arthur Duarte, 1947) do not have characters singing, but still feature all the generic narrative themes found in the *comédia*. While another *comédia*, *A menina da rádio* / *The Girl on the Radio* (Arthur Duarte, 1944) contains many songs but not fado. Therefore, while songs and fado can be found in the *comédia*, they do not form a necessary feature of the genre.

The *teatro de revista*

The Portuguese *teatro de revista*, a music-hall revue, is a theatrical show that includes comedic sketches, songs, dances, and attractions such as magicians or jugglers. Comic-opera, operettas, and the comedia dell'arte have influenced it in various ways (Rebello 1984, 17). The *teatro de revista* was, and still is, a popular theatrical revue, with its popularity never more dynamic than in the 1930s when a total of 122 *revistas* were produced, the highest number of *revista* shows ever produced in the country. Fado was part of this theatrical program that accommodated comedy with the more serious, melancholia of fado, and did so with great success.

Before addressing fado's place in the *teatro de revista*, a general introduction on the style of this theatrical revue follows. The first known performance occurred in 1851. *Lisboa em 1850* (*Lisbon in 1850*), staged one year after the military coup which made Field Marshall Saldana Prime Minister and ended the Portuguese Revolution, featured songs and sketches that addressed the years of the revolution. Luis Francisco Rebello (1984) has written that from the Regeneration of 1851 to the Carnation Revolution of 1974, the comic sketches and songs of the *revista* reflected socio-political events in Portugal (18). Political satire would, during the *Estado Novo* years, find its way into the *comédia à portuguesa* via the light tone found in the *revista*. The instances of this, to be discussed shortly, while seeming to be subversive are, nonetheless, a small part of a film narrative that in the end follows the status quo where social order is restored.

The lack of an overall narrative structure governed by plot in the *teatro de revista* resulted in a style of theatre that relied on the talents of the individual

performers, much in the way that vaudeville worked. To say that the Portuguese *revista* is like music-hall, vaudeville, or a revue show is too facile. The Portuguese *revista* followed a two-act structure. Act One began with the *quadro de abertura*, or opening scene.[19] This was generally a chorus number with dancers and orchestra. Following this, the *compere* (master of ceremonies), would come onto the stage telling jokes and engaging with the performers. The *compere* would then announce to the audience what the night's entertainment would be, emphasising the star performers. The *quadro de abertura* ended with another dance number. The *quadro de comédia*, or comedy scene, was next. This was a variety of comedic sketches that might touch on a national or foreign events that would be familiar to the audience, such as a well-known news story. This *quadro de comédia* would also include songs written specifically for the sketches. This is followed by the *quadro de rua*, or street scene. This *quadro de rua* was a long sketch centring on satirising famous people through caricatured comedy. Act One ended with a song and dance with the stars of the act given curtain calls.

Act Two follows the same sequence as Act One, however, a special attraction, such as a magician, would open and the street scene may change slightly with the caricatures and satire taking on a more local content. The *revista* ended with a full company song and dance number and a final curtain call.

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[19]This description of a typical show is taken from Rebello, Luiz Francisco. *História Do Teatro De Revista Em Portugal*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1984, p. 26.

Fado in the *teatro de revista*

Incorporating fado into this theatrical revue witnessed an adaptation of fado to suit the *teatro de revista* format.[20] As a result, some fado songs were arranged for an orchestra and the tendency for musical and lyrical improvisation gave way to a four minute time-limit (Santos 1978, 73). Rui Vieira Nery (2004) writes that the fado in the *teatro de revista* was far removed from *castiço* (traditional) fado, not only as a result of the constraints of a four minute time-limit, but with lyrics written specifically for a melody, rather than with the less structured compositions of the *fado castiço* (214). Prior to this adaptation and accommodation, well established melodies were played to a variety of lyrics. The lyricist and composer then became professional careers in fado to coincide with the *fadista* and *guitarristas*. This new crop of lyricists (Silva Tavares, Amadeu do Vale and José Galhardo) and composers (Raul Portela, Raul Ferrão and Frederico de Freitas) became major figures in the *teatro de revista*, and contributed many of the songs and fados in Portuguese films well into the 1950s.

Fadistas would be hired by the theatre companies or the latter's established singers would learn to sing fados, showing their versatility as performers by drawing on their comic talents when singing this style of song (Santos 1978, 73). Adelina Laura Fernandes (1986-1983) became the first *fadista* to go from *casa do fado* to *teatro de revista* and with that transition become a star. In the 1920s she starred in the *revistas* '*Mealheiro*,' *Carapinhada*,' '*Arco do Cego*,' '*Chave D'Ouro*,' ' *Maria Rapaza*,' '*Prima*

[20] Fado made its first appearance in the *revista* in 1869 in a show titled, *Ditoso Fado* at the Teatro da Trindade in Lisbon.

Inglesa,' and in 1926 the hugely successful, '*Mouraria*.' HMV signed her to a recording contract, and the fado from the *teatro de revista* '*Mouraria*' would make Adelina the highest paid recording artist in Portugal. Adelina's popularity led to the actress-*fadista* tradition in Portugal.

With the *revista* shifting from sketch-based theatre to a loose narrative structure, the *fadista* not only sang fado, she also acted the part of the heroine of the musical. Adelina paved the way for other actress-*fadistas*. Chief among these star-*fadistas* in the *teatro de revista* was Hermínia Silva (1913-1993). She began to sing from a very young age in recreational societies and then moved on to perform fado in *retiros*. Her name on the marquee guaranteed the show would be a success (Santos 1978, 158). One of her more popular fados was 'Soldado do Fado' (Soldier of Fado) in the *revista Chuva de mulheres* (1937) that defended fado against attacks made in the media over its suitability as the national song, where she proclaims that fado is the 'heart of Portugal.' She became known for her ability to sing in a light fashion and with a comedic sensibility and brought these same qualities to her film performances.

It is precisely this comic element that holds the key to understanding how fado was able to be incorporated into the revue theatre. While it is generally viewed as a melancholic song, fado also has a history of being sung for comic effect, and in the *revista* the traditions and conventions of fado were equally parodied. Furthermore, in the popular theatre, fado became a very accommodating song-form, adopting the styles of popular music of the 1930s and 1940s and giving rise to hybrid styles such as the fado-fox, fado-slow, fado-rumba, and fado-samba; it was sung in Spanish, French and

English, and accompanied by the *guitarra*, the *violão*, or an orchestra (Rebello 1985, 111). This blending of styles and influences illustrated that fado, while elevated to the position of national song and musical *soul* of the Portuguese, could also accommodate the light entertainment demands of the *teatro de revista*.

As the popularity of fado increased, sheet music of the more recognised and loved fado songs were sold at the theatre. Many of these were transcribed for piano rather than the *guitarra* as the middle-class who frequented the theatre owned pianos. This synergistic business practice between the *teatro de revista* and the music industry signalled a social divide among the classes, but with cheap recorded sound eventually this division slowly disappeared (Vernon 1998, 23). The *teatro de revista* then had a major impact on spreading fado's popularity among social classes.

Fado's popularity owed much to its inclusion in the *teatro de revista*. The *teatro de revista* brought fado to a wider audience, and was instrumental in fado's progression from a song originally associated with those living on the margins to a song that came to be known as the *canção nacional*. The *teatro de revista* would also impact significantly on Portuguese sound film.

From *revista* to *comédia*

The *teatro de revista* and the cinema shared talent and expertise in the early years of sound film in Portugal. It has been argued that the success of the *teatro de revista*, the attraction of ready-made stars who made the transition from stage to screen,

and the adoption of the formal elements of the *revista*, are major factors in the popularity of the *comédia à portuguesa* (Pina 1977, 112). Referring to the filming of *A canção de Lisboa* (*Song of Lisbon*, Cottinelli Telmo, 1933), Beatriz Costa (1907-1996) commented: 'Eu trabalhava no teatro e levantave-me às seis horas da manhã para filmar' (I would work in the theatre then have to get up at six in the morning the next day to go and film) (quoted in Pina 1977, 40). This first example of the *comédia à portuguesa* film featured other stars of the *revista* such as Vasco Santana (1898-1958), António Silva (1886-1971), and Teresa Gomes (1882-1962). Along with these actors, the film also included songs written by Raul Portela (1889-1942) and Raul Ferrão (1890-1953), veteran composers of the *revista*, and the dialogue was written by another *teatro de revista* mainstay, José Galhardo[21] (1905-1967). The careers of this group would continue to criss-cross the two mediums, and they worked in the *revista* as frequently as they did in the cinema.

Luís de Pina (1977, 86) was the first critic to identify the generic elements of the comedies he calls, *comédia à portuguesa*, arguing that they display a sensibility inspired by the *teatro de revista*. Assimilating the formal elements of the *revista*, these Portuguese musical-comedy films present a series of comedic sketches, dances, songs, and broad comic caricatures, along with a healthy smattering of punning, all folded within a narrative of love, family, and the inversion of social hierarchies.

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[21] Galhardo came from a *revista* family; his brother Luís (1903-1964) also wrote for the *revista*; their father, Luís Galhardo (1874-1929) was a major figure in the history of the *teatro de revista* as an impresario; and Vasco Santana was a cousin.

As noted earlier, a *teatro de revista* program often contained some mild political criticism and satire. This continued into the years of the *Estado Novo*, but it should not be assumed from this that the *teatro de revista* was politically subversive, flouting the regime's censorship laws or denouncing its restrictive policies. The satire found in comedic skits and songs, was obvious. For example, the song 'Nova 17' sung by the theatre and film star Beatriz Costa, had Costa dressed in a policeman's uniform with a painted backdrop of a large caricatured cartoon of her in the same uniform with a sword raised above her head and the caption, 'São Ordens' (the orders are). The song claims, 'em Portugal / é que é só converser / falazar, falazar' (in Portugal / it's all talk / deceptive, deceptive). It became a feature of the *teatro de revista* and in the comédia *à portuguesa* for there to be some mild subversion of authority figures, along with word-play (the use of homonyms was quite popular), repeated phrases and broad caricatures. 'São Ordens' plays with the name of Prime Minister Salazar and the 'deceptive' talk in the country, while also poking fun at a figure of authority in the guise of Costa's policeman. But, rather than bring about a harsh response from the regime, this brand of comedy was regarded as harmless and light-hearted and not a full-blooded attack on the Prime Minister or the *Estado Novo* (Santos 1978, 47). The tradition of light criticism in the *teatro de revista* removed the potential for offence as audiences had become accustomed to the satire and accepted it as part of the comedic presentation. This, along with other comedic features popular in the *teatro de revista*, were then appropriated to film.

A canção de Lisboa / *Song of Lisbon* (Cottinelli Telmo, 1933), contains several moments of such light criticism. A visual joke aimed at the *Estado Novo* regime appears

early on in a scene in a tailor shop, as Vasco (Vasco Santana) attempts to hide from Caetano (António Silva), the father of Alice (Beatriz Costa), by assuming the posture of a mannequin. He hangs around his neck a sign that reads, 'Ocasião 95:00 Estado Novo' (Second Hand Clothing 95:00 New State) (Figure 80). The joke implies that the *Estado Novo* is merely a hand-me-down of the failed governments that brought Portugal to the brink of bankruptcy, a joke that has some validity as some of the principals were still involved in the newly formed government, notably Salazar himself, who was previously Finance Minister on two separate occasions.

Second-Hand New State (Figure 80)

Later, when Vasco is evicted from his flat, and is on the verge of disclosing to his aunts that he has been expelled from medical school, the tailor and the cobbler intervene to maintain the lie. Vasco, along with his neighbours and aunts, break out into song in celebration of his supposed medical acumen. A policeman interrupts them and asks to see their performance licence, and without a license to perform in public, the policeman announces that they are to be arrested. Rather than object forcefully, they

mildly question the policeman but respect his authority and one-by-one the neighbours take a piece of Vasco's furniture that has been placed in the street, and march off singing to the police station. Criticism of authority figures, such as policeman, was censored under the *Estado Novo*, but this light touch seems to have been allowed.[22]

Government election rigging is also comically satirised. In the neighbourhood association recreation hall, members of the community have come to witness the contest for 'Miss Castelinho.' There is a young couple with a child in attendance, the young girl sleeping in her mother's arms. The room is filled with old and young neighbours dressed in their Sunday best. During the election Caetano bullies the judging panel and eventually decides on his own to make the appointment, and declares his daughter, Alice, as the winner. There is meek criticism of this from the attendees, but all laugh it off and accept the outcome, and then enjoy a song from Alice and Caetano.

A much more pointed, and sycophantic, reference to Salazar occurs in *O pátio das cantigas* / *Courtyard of Songs* (Fernando Ribeiro, 1942). A celebration on the night of the Festival of Santo António (Lisbon's patron saint) sees the courtyard, decorated with streamers and filled with people, appearing as a crowded, bustling, somewhat claustrophobic space. An argument leads to a brawl with food being flung about, fireworks being set off, and pots being worn as helmets. Narciso (Vasco Santana) fearing for the children in attendance marshals them into his workshop garage and

[22] Manoel de Oliveira's 1942 film, *Aniki Bóbó*, was harshly criticised by the *Estado Novo* for the critical way that the film depicts authority figures, particularly the police (Johnson 2007, 9-10). Following this film, Oliveira found it difficult to receive further funding and does not make another film until 1956. Curiously, the head of the propaganda ministry, António Ferro, singled out the film as among the finest films produced in Portugal during the 1930s and 1940s.

ushers them into a wagon for their protection. They huddle together, smiles on their faces under a banner across the top of the wagon that reads, 'Salazar' (Figure 81). This sequence is a none too subtle reference to the war in Europe and to the Portuguese Prime Minister's refusal to engage the country in the war, a position that was popular among the people. This is the lone example in the *comédias* of an overt example of political sloganeering that lacks the comedic satire of the style common in the *teatro de revista*, and as seen in *A canção de Lisboa*. It is difficult to claim, I believe, that these films either subvert the politics of the day or coincide with the values of the regime, as one can find examples to support either claim. However, the tradition of mild political criticism and caricature long-held in the *revista* was most definitely translated to the *comédias*.

Protecting the kids in the Salazar wagon (Figure 81)

The translation of the *revista* sensibility to the *comédia a portuguesa* not only allowed for light-hearted political commentary, but moments where fado's melancholy

seriousness could be undercut with comedy and where the song's own conventions and traditions could be satirised. In *A Canção de Lisboa* the performance of the *fadista*, Maria Albertina, is interrupted by the drunken antics of Vasco. The melancholy seriousness of the song, of a woman waiting for her lover to return to give her a 'warm kiss,' makes way for a stumbling, comedic drunk trying to get the waiter's attention. Her performance, the first of fado in the film, and the only one performed by a *fadista* (Vasco Santana was a *teatro de revista* comedian who occasionally sang), is edited off to the side. Fado, the serious art-form, is being ridiculed, it seems, if in a very light-hearted way. Such as with the titles of Vasco's fados (which we never hear but are shown playbills of); the 'mastoid fado,' the 'anatomy fado,' and the 'double pneumonia fado,' that fly against the lyrical seriousness of fado's traditional themes of melancholy, Portugal's glorious past, and fate.

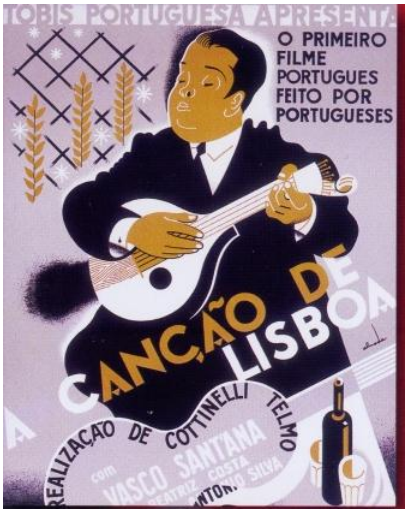
A canção de Lisboa

A canção de Lisboa / *Song of Lisbon* (Cottinelli Telmo, 1933), the first of the comédias, established the template for the genre. Themes that are present in this film carry through to all of the *comédias*, such as; a fascination with the clash between modernity and tradition, community values as reflected in the notion of *bairrismo*, the conflation of the city spaces in Lisbon to that of small rural villages, the downplaying of social class division, and as is the case with many musical and comedy popular film genres, a resolution to happy endings.

The plot structure for *A canção de Lisboa* is a tad messy. It feels variously to simply being moving from set-piece to set-piece, whether it is a comedic sketch or a song number. This template is pasticcio-like. As Richard Dyer (2007, 10) writes:

> The central notion is that the elements that make up a pasticcio are held to be different, by virtue of genre, authorship, period, mode or whatever and that they do not normally or perhaps even readily go together. Moreover, pasticcio are mixtures that preserve the separate flavour of each element, not melting ingredients together indissolubly, nor taking bits so small that any other identity is lost (as in mosaic).

In this respect, it appears to be following the *teatro de revista* program, with various acts being performed very loosely connected to an overall narrative. Fado, for example, features prominently in the film's poster (Figure 82), but its appearance in the film comes out of the blue, acting in many ways as a *deus-ex-machina* bringing the film to the happy ending. The titular song for the film is not a fado, after all, though the poster could lead someone to come to that conclusion.

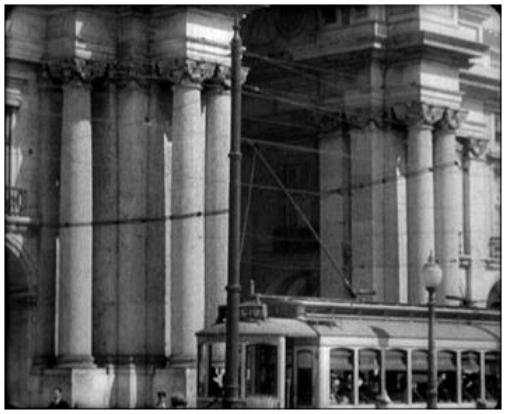


Poster for *A canção de Lisboa* (Figure 82)

The story is simple enough: a young university student, Vasco (Vasco Santana), is nearing the end of his studies in medicine. He is living off the money that his wealthy aunts send him. He squanders his money living the bohemian life and is expelled from university and thrown out of his apartment. His aunts decide to visit him in Lisbon and he sets about deceiving them, acting as if he were already a practicing doctor. The aunts discover the truth and cut off his funds, so a friend (Carlos, played by Manoel de Oliveira) gets him a job singing fado. There is also a young woman (Alice, played by Beatriz Costa), a seamstress, who he is in love with, and as it turns out, she is also in love with him. The film ends with their marriage and his graduation as a doctor.

The film opens with various shots of Lisbon as a modern European city (Figures 83 and 84). These images are accompanied by a non-diegetic song, which happens to be the titular song of the film. A lyric refers to Lisbon as a 'city of songs,' contradicting the title of the film – is there a song or many songs? The lyrics are emphasising the two key

themes of the film – songs and love. These coincide with an emphasis on the community, where, as the opening song tells us, music acts as a unifying force within the community and therefore Lisbon will represent the ideal – 'Lisbon / You are the flower of Portugal.' The song also informs us that these songs are 'for all.' While the opening song is non-diegetic, the tune will be used diegetically at various times throughout the film; as a whistled tune to attract Maria to the window, for example. This is followed by Alice at her sewing machine, humming the theme song. Alice misses Vasco and the song is a reminder that Lisbon is a city of songs and love.



Modern Lisbon (Figure 83)

Modern Lisbon (Figure 84)

The opening images contradict the song that accompanies them – we hear that Lisbon is a ‘garden-city,’ yet we are shown no gardens or flowers, but instead there is a fascination with the electric tram, and the towering edifices of the government buildings overlooking the *Praça do Comércio* (National Square). The modern city will eventually give way to the traditional, old-fashioned *bairro* of the Castelo, the neighbourhood where the characters live (Figures 85 and 86).

The Castelo *bairro* (Figure 85)

The Castelo *bairro* (Figure 86)

In the Castelo we are shown a tailor's store next to a cobbler, and a merchant carrying a basket of goods on his shoulders. Here there are no trams or power lines. This is a neighbourhood with older values and traditions, a community, the opening song tells us, whose 'streets seem to hum in joy [and] the city awakens singing.' Music, especially song, is established as an important part of the community, though we are told this in song and rather than visually.

There are only two instances of non-diegetic songs and they are heard back-to-back at the beginning of the film before any dialogue is spoken, thus establishing the primacy of song over dialogue. This song – which I will call the 'lazybones' song – introduces us to Vasco. The song provides the viewer with information about Vasco's character and back-story. Again we are being told via song who Vasco is without our getting to know him. Song in this instance is a mode of telling.

Vasco, the lyrics tell us, is a 'lazybones' who will 'flunk [his] final exam.' He is running late for his exam at the medical university. The streets of the Castelo bare little resemblance to the Lisbon of the opening shots. One important feature missing from the Castelo is that there is no tram for Vasco to catch. Vasco runs past girls collecting water from a communal fountain and women walking with baskets of goods on their heads. There is almost a denial of the modern Lisbon that was shown in the opening, instead embracing the more traditional, simpler neighbourhood community.

This opening sequence shows us two Lisbons − the traditional and the modern. And while the Castelo where Vasco lives has been presented as bucolic, modernity often intrudes into this space. Such as the moment when Vasco makes a getaway from Alice

when she catches him flirting with his neighbour, Maria, by hailing a taxi (the first instance that any modern mode of transportation is seen shown in his neighbourhood). At the moment of his escape, the noise of engines and horns dominate the soundtrack, disrupting the tranquillity of the neighbourhood. The clash between tradition and the modern are also represented by Vasco's aunts. They are first shown in their home in the region of Tras os Montes in Northern Portugal writing a letter to Vasco. One recites while the other writes using a feathered pen and ink. They arrive in Lisbon on a train which they find awkward to manage –'I'm not used to this contraption'. They are clearly not comfortable in a modern city, and very soon, one of the aunts has her purse stolen from her.

Community

The courtship of Vasco and Alice is a central focus of the community. The well-being of the community seems to rest with whether these two will eventually marry, and any disturbance, or hindrance to that end results in chaos for the neighbourhood. During the festivities on St. John's Night, a massive brawl breaks out as a result of Vasco and Alice not speaking to each other. While everyone is gathered to celebrate the festival, dancing to the brass band playing the film's theme song, playing casino games, and generally enjoying each other's company, Vasco confronts Weedy, a rival suitor for Alice's affection. Their fight results in all the men taking part in a brawl. A fireworks display puts an end to the fight, and soon they all join together in a communal song and dance number. Two lines are formed behind Vasco and Alice who each hold up large

paper dolls that resemble them. They each take turns singing a verse, while the other leads a line of 'dancers' behind them and around the other line. The whole community join in the singing of the chorus. If Lisbon is a city of song and love then these two represent both of those ideals and therefore the community must share in that bond. The community is sharing in their story and the song and dance is as much for the community as it is for Vasco and Alice.

When fado does make an appearance, it is as an expression of belonging to both a local and national community. After Vasco is cut off by his aunts, Carlos takes him to the *Retiro do Alexandrino*, the local fado house, in an attempt to secure him a contract to sing fado there. The prominent display of the Portuguese coat-of-arms makes the audience aware that the *retiro* is a homogenised fado house, and in almost every shot of Vasco the coat-of-arms is visible: the table Vasco sits at features a coat-of-arms on the wall (Figure 87); when he stumbles to the bar he stands by a coat-of-arms; and when he drunkenly rails against fado, a coat-of-arms is visible in the background. The coat-of-arms is such a prominent feature in the *retiro* that it is even found hanging from a tree.

The Coat of Arms (Figure 87)

As was discussed in chapter 1 of this dissertation, during the early years of the *Estado Novo*, the State restricted where fado could be heard as part of its policy of promoting fado as the national song. These restrictions coincided with the establishment of State-sanctioned fado houses which were 'all similar in style … with a resultant homogenising effect on *retiro* all manifestations of the fado' (Brito 1994, 32). The *retiro* in this film is clearly a State-sanctioned fado house, but more importantly, it represents the Portuguese nation itself. In another shot, when Vasco is carried off on the shoulders of his fans, a billboard on the wall of the *retiro* advertises the brewery 'Cerveja Portugalia' (Figure 88). The r*etiro*, the official venue for the performance of fado, is associative of the nation with the coat of arms on display and where the beer served comes from the country's oldest brewery. The fado house becomes a site of national symbols and iconography as well as the performance space for the national song.

National Space (Figure 88)

Getting drunk and rowdy at the *Retiro do Alexandrino* further isolates Vasco from his neighbours in. His outbursts against fado are the final act of a man completely

cut off from his community. When Vasco rails against fado shouting, ‘death to all *fadistas*,’ the audiences’ reaction is violent. The fado aficionados will not tolerate an outsider, especially one who is disdainful of their beloved fado. What then is to be made of Vasco’s violent reaction at being asked to sing fado? Is it just a case of his being drunk? The debates regarding fado surface in this sequence, but with a twist. This is no longer the argument about where fado should be performed, but a defence of fado as the song of the people. Vasco, drunk and insulting, is making the case that fado is a ‘social ill’ and bad for the people. He rails that he is ‘against fado.’ He even disrespects the iconographic instrument of fado, the *guitarra*, as he brandishes the instrument as a tennis racket to bat away the food being thrown at him (Figure 89).

Guitarra as tennis racket (Figure 89)

In the Portuguese film magazine, *Imagem*, a promotional article appeared prior to the film’s release. The piece is written as a first-person narrative of a fado detractor who is asked to go to the *Retiro do Alexandrino* to hear the famous *fadista*, ‘Vasco da Anatomia,’ the character played by Vasco Santana in the film. The reporter expresses anxiety at having to go to the *retiro* where ‘authentic’ fado is heard. This fictionalised

reportage contains many of the arguments that had come to be associated with the attitudes against fado. The reporter writes that because he does not feel fado in his soul, or that his heart is 'not shaped like a guitarra,' that he finds the song 'indecent,' does not mean that he is somehow not truly Portuguese ('Retiro do Alexandrino' 1933, 7). But, upon hearing Vasco sing fado in the 'authentic' way in a 'traditional' setting, he is immediately struck by the song, feeling it intensely in his heart, and comes to understand why fado is the national song. He leaves the *retiro* proclaiming, 'Fado is for all of us' ('Retiro do Alexandrino' 1933, 8). The article mimics the scene in the film where Vasco attacks fado, and like the film, the article shows that once fado is heard it is understood. This promotional article emphasises the importance of fado in the film, even though it is only featured near the end, and in only two scenes. The position of fado as national song allows for its presence to be prominent regardless of the time it has on screen.

Vasco, at this point, essentially is no longer a member of any community. With his ejection from the *Retiro do Alexandrino,* Vasco is now at his lowest point – 'orphaned, abandoned, kicked out, sad and alone,' he claims. Only when he has hit rock bottom – he even has to walk down the set of stairs from the terrace of the *Alexandrino* to exit the café, dragging his feet, chin resting on his chest and his shirt dishevelled – can he express his melancholy, or *saudade*. He sings fado, positioned beneath the fado house, with such emotional authenticity that he draws the diegetic audience to him and is accepted back into the community (Figures 90 and 91).

Vasco turning to fado (Figure 90)

Drawing the audience to him (Figure 91)

The final stanzas of Vasco's 'Fado do Estudante' (Student's Fado) are devoted entirely to fado.

O Fado é toda a minha fé	(In fado my faith is endless)
Embala, encanta e inebria	(It bewitches, fascinates and captivates)
Pois chega a ser bonito até	(You'll find it's even beautiful)
Na radio-telefonia.	(To hear it on the wireless.)
Quando é tocado com calor	(When it is sung with passion)
Bem atirado e a rigor	(With tradition and devotion)
É belo o Fado	(Our fado is wonderful)
Ninguém há que lhe resista.	(No one can resist it.)

É a canção mais popular	(It's our most popular song)
Tem emoção faz-nos vibrar	(It makes us vibrate with emotion)
Eis a razão de eu ser Doutor e ser Fadista.	(And that's why I'm a doctor and a Fadista.)

Earlier in the song, Vasco sang about his troubles, re-capping, in a general sense the plot up to this point. Now on the stage of the *Retiro do Alexandrino* flanked by the two guitarists, Vasco is extolling the praises of fado as the national song. Vasco's faith is restored not only in fado, but also in himself, and ultimately in the community. The reflexive song allows for the celebration of the song itself, and Vasco's redemption through fado.

Vasco may have just angrily attacked fado, but it is the song he turns to, to give voice to his feelings, and it is fado that, as a *deus ex machina*, brings about the longed for happy resolution. Having been rescued by fado, Vasco is now the one from whom friends and family from the Castelo must ask forgiveness, thus re-establishing the ties of the community, and finally the longed-for marriage to Alice. Their union is cause for celebration, and Vasco, asked to give a speech, instead sings the titular song, this time emphasising his place within the community and the power of laughter and song to bring happiness to the neighbourhood.

Fado and the *revista* sensibility in the *comédia à portuguesa*

The *revista* influence is particularly evident in the representation of fado in two examples of the *comédia* genre, *O Costa do Castelo* / *Costa of the Castelo*

Neighbourhood (Arthur Duarte, 1943), and *O grande Elias* / *Great Elias* (Arthur Duarte, 1950), where fado tradition and convention are parodied for comic effect. In the former, António Silva plays Costa, a *guitarrista* who is training a young amateur *fadista*, Rosa Maria (Hermínia Silva), who will go on to make her debut at a well-established fado house and achieve great success. Like all *comédias*, the main theme of this film is the differences between social classes in Portugal, and it ultimately glorifies the working class, while also presenting the rich in a positive light. During the lessons with Costa, Rosa Maria speaks in slang, which he constantly corrects, asking her 'How will you sing fado in public making such mistakes?' He detests her street slang and insists that she speak in 'proper' Portuguese. Costa continues: 'It's not the voice, it's the lyrics! Do you know what being a singer means?' Rosa Maria goes on to suggest that becoming a *fadista* means no longer having to work in a factory. Fado by this point is an established profession and an opportunity for the lower classes to achieve financial stability.

Costa also instructs Rosa Maria in the proper posture for singing fado – 'Hands on your waist, head up, a smile' (Figure 92). Rosa Maria exaggerates her smile and is reprimanded by Costa, who chides 'you'll get a chair thrown at you' and tells her to smile naturally – 'put on the air God gave you.' She sings, but using her lower-class street slang, and Costa's cat is shown fleeing from the noise. The seriousness of the intense emotional quality of the song is undercut by the comic playfulness of the language, while the performance convention is exaggerated via a broad caricature in which a melancholy song is sung in an incongruously light-hearted way.

Teaching performance (Figure 92)

In *O grande Elias* a wealthy aunt is visiting her nephew Carlos (Estevão Amarante), an inveterate gambler who has told her that he is a wealthy businessman with a large family whom she helps to support with monthly cheques. He enlists the help of his friend and co-conspirator, Elias (played by the ever-present António Silva), to deceive the aunt during her short stay, by pretending to be the family's butler and arranging for their use of a mansion. Carlos convinces his estranged wife to help with the deception, along with their only daughter, Ana Maria (played by Milu) and her fiancé Miguel (Francisco Ribeiro, commonly known as Ribeirinho). Carlos has also told his aunt that he has twin sons, and so Miguel is coerced into pretending to be one of them, and she is told that the other twin has left home to pursue a life of drink and wrestling, bringing shame on the family. However, Aunt Adriana believes that she can save the black-sheep twin, Ernesto, and reunite him with his family. Elias decides to take Adriana to a bar where she will see that Ernesto/Miguel is beyond redemption and a

fight will be staged as an excuse to usher her away before she can speak to him. It is in this bar that fado is heard.

In this film fado is removed from the fado houses and placed in a smoky bar among hard-drinking men and women. The sound of the *guitarra* as the scene opens on the bar's lantern logo – 'The K.O. Bar" – signals that this is a tavern where fado is heard. Considering the set-up of the 'twin' Ernesto as a dangerous character who drinks heavily and wrestles, our expectation is of a bar for down-and-outs. The name with its reference to American boxing lingo also hints at a place distinct from the fado houses. This is a dark and seedy bar where tough men and women come to smoke and drink (Figure 93). These are not smartly dressed neighbours out for an enjoyable evening among friends listening to a professional *fadista* sing on a stage.

A seedy tavern (Figure 93)

The drunken tattooed men, unshaven and smoking, dressed in dirty clothes from working on the docks or on ships, recall the early criminal *fadistas* of the 19th century. The women could be prostitutes, singers, girlfriends or wives, but they are clearly not

the stay-at-home women of the earlier comedies. A *fadista* sits at a table among some men playing a *guitarra*. Is this singer a *fadista*/prostitute? She becomes the flash point for a real fight that takes place between two men, but she is clearly not a licensed, professional *fadista*. In fact, she is never referred to as a *fadista* but instead is called a 'siren' – calling the men to fado or enticing them to fight over her?

When Elias and Aunt Adriana are spotted getting out of a taxi, the *fadista* is directed to the table where Ernesto/Miguel is sitting. Ernesto/Miguel and the *fadista* visually parody the famous fado painting by José Malhoa, *O Fado* (1910), which depicts the prostitute, Adelaide de Facada admiring her lover, the *fadista* Amâncio, as he plays the *guitarra* and sings fado. In *O grande Elias*, the gender roles are reversed and the sexual tone neutered (Figure 94).

Parody of *O Fado* painting (Figure 94)

The scene also parodies the drunken scene with Vasco in *A canção de Lisboa*. Ernesto/Miguel is shown in cutaways drinking large gulps of liquor, his eyes bulging and his face contorting in a ridiculous fashion as he is obviously not accustomed to hard

drinking. This comic association of fado with drunkenness, along with the mock representation of the Malhoa painting, utilises the *teatro de revista*'s convention of broad caricature to parody fado's origins in the taverns of Lisbon. The song itself, however, is not mocked. It is as if two scenes are being staged simultaneously for two separate diegetic audiences. Ernesto is performing for Elias and Adriana, so that the comedy is kept separate from the fado performance, drawing on the visual representation of the Malhoa painting. The music and singing are faithful to fado's traditions with the other patrons of the bar adhering to the active listening of a fado audience. The fado here is not a mournful, melancholic lament, but a proud song, glorifying the figure of the hard-working sailor and *fadista*. Throughout her performance there is not a sound from those in the bar, and the tradition of maintaining silence while fado is sung is respected. The scene evokes a sanitised version of the early years of fado's origins that comically exploits the iconographic representation of a *fadista* prostitute and the associations to a violent machismo, yet does so while respecting the song itself.

Representing 'authenticity'

The ritualisation of the 'authentic' tradition of fado is on display in *O Costa do Castelo*. The walls of the 'Gruta do Fado' (The Fado Cave) are adorned with frescoes depicting fado's past, with scenes of *fadistas* in traditional clothing playing the *guitarra* at tables in a tavern, and women dancing the *fôfa* or the *lundum*. There are table lamps adding subdued lighting, creating a more intimate setting in the Gruta then was

witnessed in the *retiro* in *A canção de Lisboa* (Figure 95). In describing the fado houses of the 1940s, Joaquim Pais de Brito (1991, 164) writes that '[t]he typical fado houses evoked Lisbon at night, with candles on the tables, a city that was without electric street-lights.'

Intimate and friendly (Figure 95)

This sense of 'Lisbon at night' is visually rendered, not simply by staging the scene in the evening, but through our introduction to the Gruta. The electric lights on the sign offer the only light and the name 'Gruta' appears to emerge out of the darkness. A series of dissolves takes us deep into the cave where, on the stage, with the lights low, a *fadista* sings. Rather than walking up a flight of stairs that lead to the open-air garden setting of the *retiro* in *A canção de Lisboa*, the Gruta is a darker, intimate space for couples, but also maintains its community connection that family and friends can enjoy themselves in a friendly atmosphere.

Of course, when the lights come up at the end of the performance, the audience are comfortably seated at tables served by uniformed waiters, the Gruta's impresario is

smartly dressed in a fine suit, and the wealthier patrons are seated in what appear to be private boxes at an opera house.

The Gruta has a proscenium stage with a painted backdrop of castle arches and a cave in the mountains. It is separated from the audience who sit at tables looking up to the performers. While the trend in the 1940s was to embrace the traditions, it is also apparent that the performers are held in more of an esteemed position as professional stars of the fado. The *fadista* whose performance we open on in the Gruta is allowed the full attention of the camera. She is shot straight on, her accompanists on either side, and this framing is maintained until the very end when the camera pulls back to reveal the proscenium stage and the audience. When Rosa Maria (Hermínia Silva) performs her début, there are cutaways to friends in the audience, the musicians accompanying her, and close-ups of the *fadista* herself. Unlike the previous performance, this one focuses on the *fadista* and her relationship to the community (Figures 96, 97 and 98).

Enjoying her début (Figure 96)

With the *guitarristas* (Figure 97)

Family and friends sharing the moment (Figure 98)

Bairrismo and the clash of tradition and modern

Lisbon in the *comédia* is a modern city with the ideals and values of a rural village. The Lisbon *bairros* (neighbourhoods), where much of the action of the films takes place, are represented as small villages within the larger 'country' of Lisbon. The characters, all part of the tight-knit community of the Alfama, the Castelo, or Estrela, experience a series of comical events, come together to sing and hear songs, and through a sequence of misunderstandings, fall apart and then are reconciled as a community.

Community in these films reflects the notion of *bairrismo*, that is, the life of the neighbourhood or specific *bairros*. The *bairrismo* during these decades under Salazar sought to conflate the values of the village to that of the city. *Bairrismo* was part of Salazar's larger ideological program to develop traditionalist nationalism, where the people would be entirely focused on their history rather than look closely at their present.

The *bairro* also came to symbolise the city of Lisbon as a whole even though the *comédias* are spatially located within a courtyard or a few streets of a district. In the context of Portugal under Salazarism, there was a project to equate urban and rural space as one. According to Kimberly DaCosta Holton (2005, 30), Salazar employed a 'spatial strategy' in his greater political policy to demobilise the lower classes. In studying the *ranchos folclóricos*, Holton comments on the larger project of the regime to neutralize the local and regional differences, thereby utilising cultural projects and traditions 'along a national-local dialectic, where spatial identification and cultural heritage were in constant flux between the grounded sphere of local residence and the abstract sphere of national belonging' (41).[23] The *bairro* in the *comédia* operates within this local-national dialectic and encompasses the clash between tradition and modernity; a contradiction that was very much at the heart of *Estado Novo* policies. The traditional, almost rustic and pre-modern, *bairro* is depicted as the place where modernity is slowly

[23] *Ranchos folclóricos* are groups of amateur musicians and dancers who perform 19th century popular songs and dances in 'traditional' clothing. In her book, *Performing Folklore*, Holton (2005) studies these groups during the years of the *Estado Novo* and up to the present day in Portugal and in the U.S.A. She embraces the notion of invented tradition as a way to negotiate cultural expression under fascism and as a way of embracing local-global folkloric revivalism.

being introduced. Paradoxically, Lisbon appears to be a modern city of electric trams, cars and radios, while within the walls and among the streets of the *bairros*, modernity has yet to make a mark. And when it does, it fascinates and intrudes in equal measure.

Centred on a Lisbon courtyard, *O pátio das cantigas* / *Courtyard of Songs* (Francisco Ribeiro, 1942) celebrates the music and folkloric traditions of Portugal, as the neighbours sing and dance together in their shared courtyard. Romances flourish and animosities are resolved to paint a picture of a family community. As Lisa Shaw (2003, 157) writes, the film 'upholds the myth of Portugal's *brandos costumes* or peaceful way of life, as the characters for the most part treat each other with respect and politeness, and family ties are close...'. The greater city of Lisbon is disregarded; the action almost exclusively taking place in the courtyard which acts as the city square.

Music is central to all the characters in that all of them have an attachment to music, whether they are aspiring singers (Amália and Maria da Graça), or musicians (Carlos and Celeste), or admirers. Music is performed, played on a gramophone, or transmitted by radio. The blending of the modern with the traditional demonstrates that the traditional need not fear the modern. The radio and the gramophone do not pose any kind of threat to the traditional music, but allow the music to reach beyond the courtyard.

The film opens in the courtyard as Engenhocas[24] is attempting to bring music to the courtyard by hooking up a loud speaker from his amateur radio console (Figures 99 and 100). The speaker is not represented as threatening the tranquillity of the courtyard; indeed the neighbours are gathered are anxiously awaiting Engenhocas' success at bringing music to them. The radio and the speaker are connecting a 'village' of individuals into a community of friends and family all sharing in the joy of music.

Bringing the radio to the courtyard (Figure 99)

[24]The name implies that he is a man of gadgets and is a word derived from 'engenheiro' meaning 'engineer.'

Engenhocas' home-made radio (Figure 100)

The figures above illustrate the fascination with technology. In the first, the speaker looms out from Engenhocas' balcony dominating the courtyard. It can be argued that this may be reminiscent of listening to speeches made by Salazar on the national radio station with crowds gathered below in the streets hearing the voice of the dictator over loudspeakers. That is certainly one reading, but the loudspeaker brings music, not politics, to the people in the film's privileging of music and songs. The radio operates as a mass communicator/transmitter of popular Portuguese music.

The second image (Figure 100) shows the radio as a mass of boxes, tubes, wires, and dials. The engineering that has produced the radio is evocative of Engenhocas' quaint eccentricity, but it is also a kind of old-world inventing coupled with the man's love of gadgets. From his room he reaches an audience beyond the courtyard when he broadcasts music. The radio is not only a transmitter of music but a broadcaster as well. Unlike the gramophone with its sleek modern design, this radio is a technological wonder, a mish-mash of materials that need to be hammered and fused in order to work.

Later in the film, when Engenhocas broadcasts a song over his radio, he enlists Narçiso (Vasco Santana) and his son (Ribeirinho) to play fado. As they play for the radio audience, Amália at her window below sings the fado to herself. But as the radio transmits the sound of the instruments to listeners in their own homes, Amália's voice carries across the courtyard to entertain her neighbours.

The guitarists play their instruments, the radio console behind them taking up the position usually occupied by the *fadista* (Figure 101). The broadcasting of fado on the radio during the 1930s helped with its growth in popularity and acceptance as the national song. Radio, along with the licensing of singers and guitarists, the homogenisation of the fado houses, and the recording contracts, were key factors in the professionalisation of fado. What sets this film apart from the other *comédias* is the absence of the fado house. Radio takes the place of the fado house as the venue where fado is brought to the country.

Playing for the radio (Figure 101)

In this film, traditional folkloric Portuguese music is pitted against opera. The popular music is represented by fado and band music and acts as the music of the community, while opera is the music of the snobbish, pretentious elite. As Engenhocas' radio plays popular music as the neighbours dance in the courtyard, Evaristo is in his room, disgusted by the spectacle. Eventually, Evaristo loudly plays opera on his gramophone out his window (Engenhocas' radio having broken down) to the disappointed neighbours.

The distinction between the two forms of music is mirrored in the difference between the two forms of music technology. The gramophone, associated with the opera-loving Evaristo, is presented as being against the needs of the people. What is played on the gramophone is never pleasing to the neighbours. After a performance of fado, Evaristo attempts to put on an opera record, but is foiled in his attempt to fill the courtyard with opera by Carlos who throws a rock from his balcony through Evaristo's window breaking the record. The radio, broadcasting popular Portuguese music, is preferred to the gramophone which allows the individual some free choice.

However, it is Evaristo who is being ridiculed, not the gramophone. At one point, Evaristo opens a package of recently received music recordings – he is obviously a man of some modern sophistication to have records sent to him from Brazil. The record that he plays is a Brazilian samba song. The neighbours in the courtyard ridicule him for playing popular music. In a fit of anger he hurls the record down at them, however the song continues. As it turns out, Maria Graça, a former neighbour has just returned from Brazil where she has achieved success as a singer, and hearing the samba,

begins to sing off-screen. The song, and the singing voice, does not end because the record is shattered.

Returning to the opening courtyard scene, fado is attacked but shown to be the national song nonetheless, as it is in *A canção de Lisboa*. The film opens in the courtyard as one of the neighbours is attempting to bring music to the courtyard by hooking up a loud speaker from his amateur radio console. His success brings folkloric band music to the awaiting neighbours who dance about. However, this appreciation of the traditional forms of music is soon interrupted by Evaristo (António Silva) who is an admirer of opera. The two types of music are pitted against one another; the folkloric as the music of the community, and opera as the music of the snobbish, pretentious elite. Evaristo plays his gramophone out his window (the radio having broken down) to the disappointed neighbours. He admonishes them: 'Fado singers! You only enjoy that useless guitar music. Ignorant fools! You can't appreciate classical music or opera. And opera is the music of the workers.' This final line is a play on the word 'opera' and the Portuguese word, 'operários' for 'workers.' Evaristo's boorishness claims that because the words sound alike they therefore must be associative. His snobbishness is undercut, however, when Engenhocas sings out a parody of the famous line from *The Marriage of Figaro*, 'figado, figado, figado,' which translates as 'liver, liver, liver.' Music acts as a marker of class difference.

Evaristo also parodies the now famous line in Portuguese fado performances (a line that features in the films as well), 'Silêncio! que se vai cantar o fado,' (silence, fado is going to be sung) by declaring to the gathered neighbours, 'Silêncio! que se vai cantar

ópera.' While the music that was being enjoyed was not fado, it is fado that Evaristo attacks – to make him more of an outsider and hater of Portuguese tradition and folklore, it must be fado that is his target of contempt. Fado not yet having been sung in the film is singled out for attention and importance.

However, when he rails against fado it comes not after a moment where fado was being performed, attacking fado seemingly out of nowhere. To do this, however, there must be some understanding of fado's importance to the neighbours. While the neighbours appreciate various kinds of music and song, it is fado that they perform. The attack against fado again emphasises that there are detractors, but they are individuals against the community. We later find out how important fado is to them when Amália answers Evaristo's attack on fado when she sings, 'for all those people/who do not believe/that this Portuguese song/is beautiful....' The position of fado as the national song is defended in these films.

As if in direct response to Evaristo's attack, the following scene allows fado to come to its own defence. Fado once again brings the neighbours together, this time drawing them out from their homes to share in the song. Maria Paula, playing a would-be *fadista* named Amália[25], sings accompanied by Carlos Bonito on the guitar and João Magrinho on the *guitarra* (Figure 102). To emphasise the tight-knit community that the neighbours have created, they each perform from their respective balconies. The scene

[25]Initially, this part was to be played by Amália Rodrigues, who at this early stage in her career was fado's rising star. It was an attempt to capitalise on her popularity, but the decision was made to not cast her due to the belief that she was not photogenic (Baptista 2009, 52).

evokes the days when fado was sung on the streets, the *fadista* singing to the stars, her voice carrying across the courtyard to the windows where neighbours lean out to appreciate fado.

Singing from the balconies (Figure 102)

Even though the performers are separated, the configuration of the *fadista* between the two guitarists is still respected. Prior to this, the three neighbours have acknowledged, silently, the playing of fado, with Amália offering the knowing nod and smile so often shown as an audience cutaway during fado singing. As Amália sings, the camera cuts between the three, the typical placement of *fadista* standing between her two seated *guitarristas* maintained only through the establishing framing. The convention of framing fado within this triangle is still adhered to even though the performers are separated.

But they are not singing fado for themselves, but to the courtyard. Neighbours appear at their windows, or listen from within their apartments continuing with their chores. These shots (Figures 103 and 104) act as audience cutaways in the fado house

sequences, registering the enjoyment and emotional intensity of listening to fado. Suzana (Figure 104) is especially lost in thought as she continues to iron clothes, but her focus is clearly on listening to the fado.

(Figure 103)

(Figure 104)

Listening to fado

This inclusion of the community listening to fado takes place after Boris, up in his apartment, has played his cello, the music echoing through the courtyard. The camera cranes through the dark empty courtyard, the sound of the cello underscoring the movement. But, none of the neighbours come to their windows to hear his playing. This piece of instrumental music is not really of the community in the way that fado unites the neighbours. Even Boris is drawn to the singing of fado, having put away his cello to peer out of his window to hear it. The emphasis in this film is on fado as the song of the community, the song that is sung for all Portuguese, and not just for oneself.

Another moment when fado is heard occurs after the old man, Senhor Reitor, is robbed. The instrumental opening of a fado is heard, which draws Amália to her balcony to sing. A cut reveals that the guitarists are across the courtyard in the room of the radio enthusiast. He is broadcasting the two men playing for his ‘audience.’ The two men are

playing for a radio audience, but are unaware that their music is bringing comfort to the old man in his bed. At the same time, Amália is drawn to the music and is inspired to sing. Fado connects the neighbours across the courtyard, providing comfort, solace, and entertainment.

In this striking moment it is fado that has the mesmeric power to affect an emotional connection. Unlike the other instances where music brings together the neighbours, this time they are not performing for each other, but lost in their own thoughts, isolated from one another, unaware that they are sharing the moment. Amália in the earlier scene described above was filmed looking out to the courtyard singing fado, but this time she is framed in the balcony doorway but turned away from the courtyard and singing to the camera positioned inside her flat (Figure 105). Her concern for her grandfather, the old man's physical pain and humiliation, the affect the robbery has had on the courtyard inhabitants, and the emotional playing of the two guitarists, are united through fado in this shared moment of melancholy. The performers are playing and singing for themselves, but the fado is not for them alone. It belongs to the community and brings comfort to them. It is through fado that they have an outlet for their emotions at this difficult time.

Sharing fado but alone (Figure 105)

Conclusion

In the *comédia à portuguesa* fado is rendered compatible with the comedy format via its associations with the light-hearted entertainment traditions of the *teatro de revista*. In particular, *O Costa do Castelo* and *O grande Elias* reconcile the demands of a comedic tradition for parody and exaggeration at the same time that it respects and celebrates the conventions of fado. The song's purported evocation of the national imaginary of *saudade* and its melancholia, as in the films *A canção de Lisboa* and *O pátio das cantigas*, suggests a harmonising of community values and a musical representation of the nation. Assimilating the formal elements of the *revista*, the *comédias* present a series of comedic sketches, dances, songs, and broad comic caricatures, along with a healthy smattering of punning, all folded within a narrative of love, family, and the inversion of social hierarchies. Fado, having experienced decades of accommodation and adaptation, had by the 1930s adjusted to fit within a variety

performance taking on a lighter satirical tone while continuing to nurture its melancholic dimension. The 1940s would witness a shift in fado's relationship to the *Estado Novo* and its own historical traditions as was the case with the fado dramas discussed in chapter 3, where fado became the central narrative focus instead of just one of a series of song styles within a film. In those films, the embrace of fado's original transgressive associations reconciled to an institutionalised, State-promoted song that exposed contradictory representations and accommodations without the comedic safety net of the *teatro de revista* tradition as evident in the films of *comédia à portuguesa*.

Conclusion

Fado is a passionate song that evokes passionate opinion both positive and negative. The voice of the *fadista*, the lilting cadence and extended *melismas*, a voice straining to express the sensual provocativeness of love lost or won, or breaking over a sorrowful melancholy lament, or triumphant in its patriotic fervour, or even cheerful and playful in a moment of happiness, accompanied by the tinny sound of the Portuguese *guitarra*, is a powerful expression of Portuguese culture. The song has had such a profound hold on Portuguese music, literature, politics, and film, that its ability to entertain and bring pleasure to the listener is at times overwhelmed by essentialist talk of identity and nation. Too often there have been pronouncements of a song that is the sonic expression of the Portuguese soul, and while this dissertation has not shied away from discussions of fado as the national song, it has sought to explore the song's representation in film via the rich contextual debates of fado's colourful history, people, and musical adaptation.

Throughout its history, critics have been engaged in a dialogue that has placed fado at the heart of a debate that balanced contestation with negotiation, and this balance was clearly represented in the popular films of the 1930s and 1940s. Whether the song featured peripherally or was central to the narrative, its representation in film reflects the diverse opinions at the heart of the national song debate. And in this sense, it was about more than just the music and lyrics, but the surrounding iconography and history.

Common assumptions of fado address the song's emotionality often only referencing its melancholia, signalled semantically by the plangent lyrics, musically via the preponderance of minor melodies and sorrowful voices expressing lived experiences, and visually by the dark clothing and *chiaroscuro* Lisbon streets. The story of Maria Severa, both her true biography and the subsequent theatrical reimagining by Júlio Dantas, and later in the biopic directed by Leitão de Barros based on that work, emphasised the illicit love story and tragic circumstances of her life and death. Her story became the defining myth of the female *fadista*, a woman who has sacrificed for love, accepted her fate and sang fado as an expression of her melancholy. However, as is evidenced in the films, fado is not solely the song of sadness, but a musical form that has a diverse variety of tunes, some melancholy, others playful and bouncy. The critical discourse that singles out fado's connection to *saudade*, the Portuguese expression of nostalgia, homesickness, and loss, has much to do with nationalist sentiment around the early 20th century and the prominence of *saudosismo*, as was discussed in chapter one.

Fascinatingly, melancholy, as the supposed dominating emotion of fado, is not especially prevalent in the films. As was discussed in the opening chapter, the song's melancholy was said to be either a sonic expression of *saudade* or reflective of the fatalism of the Portuguese people. However, from its beginnings in the early 19th century, fado expressed a variety of emotions as it evolved from its origins as a sultry dance to a song of defiance, subversion and nostalgia. Fado's adaptability is clearly evident in the films, whether being used for comic effect, as in *A canção de Lisboa* or *O Costa do Castelo*, or for nostalgia and patriotism, as in *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira* or *João Ratão*. It is a reflection of the prevailing discourse on fado that privileged its

melancholia, as was the case with foreign writers such as Rodney Gallop (1933 and 1936) who viewed fado as a song of sadness and *saudade* and focused almost exclusively on the song's melancholic dimension. But, as was shown in this dissertation, fado in the Portuguese cinema did not cling to this limited view of the song, instead representing the dynamism of its variety of styles, influences, and affective dimension.

Fado developed a mise-en-scène of performance and place that translated directly to the cinema. As was shown in many of the films discussed here, the staging of the *fadista* between the two guitarists was regularly adopted in the films' stage-blocking. And when there was separation between the performers, as in the case of the balcony scene in *Pátio das cantigas*, there was still an attempt to convey this tradition of staging, facilitated by the use of editing, camera angles, and blocking. This performance practice curiously does not establish a sense of an ensemble (Castelo-Branco 1994, 127), but visually establishes the intimate musical relationship between the singer and the musicians, which is then transferred to the audience. This visual intimacy is seen in the films of the 1930s and 1940s. In regards to the representation of place, Lisbon and the *casas do fado* figure significantly in the films, tracing the changes in venue as more legislation was introduced governing the decor, and censorship over the fado program intensified. The representation of the Lisbon neighbourhoods strongly associated with fado offer up an image of the city constructed around a mise-en-scène of 'authenticity.' Like the impresario, Morais, in *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira*, who demands that Ana Maria's theatre début be presented with a set design of the 'authentic Alfama,' a scene of gas-lit lamp posts, steep streets, and crowded quaintly dilapidated homes, circa the mid-19th century, the films in this dissertation offer images of the city that also

follow Morais' instructions. Where fado should be performed was part of a highly contentious debate among fado's defenders and detractors. As one example illustrates, those who saw fado as 'authentically' a song to be performed in the Lisbon streets or in taverns, disagreed forcefully with those aficionados who believed that fado belonged in themed *casas do fado*.

Lisbon and fado, though occasionally mixing with modernity, is locked in a pre-modern aesthetic that purports to be a more authentic representation of the song and the city. Ironically, it is this image of the neighbourhoods, the dark narrow streets cloaked in shadows, which were the site of criminal activity during fado's early transgressive years that offered up pictorial representations of *fadistas* as dangerous figures, an association played for comedic parody in *O grande Elias*. And as is the case with Amália's first two films, *Capas Negras* and *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira*, fado is just as authentic a song when associated with the city of Coimbra as it is when paired with Lisbon. The question of an authentic voice is also raised in the films such as in *O Costa do Castelo*, when Costa coaches Rosa Maria, reproaching her for her phrasing and use of regional dialect, or in the rehearsal sequence in *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira*, where Júlio asks Ana Maria to practice her *melismas*, and where her voice is described as authentic because her mother was a beloved *fadista*. The Portuguese cinema of the 1930s and 1940s may focus its attention on a very narrow and specific construction of fado, but this depiction is still in line with representations prevalent at the time.

The films reveal fado's own practice of adaptation, and remind the viewer that the song is not one specific thing, but a Portuguese cultural phenomenon of various

song-styles, locations, and influences. The distinctness of Coimbra and Lisbon fados is just example of this as these two have different and unique iconographies and performance practices, as was demonstrated in the film, *Capas Negras*. It was the more influential Lisbon fado, however, that featured heavily in the films in these two decades, and again there is much variation in style and practice, whether we are presented with a *fado-canção* in a minor key, such as 'Fado Cada Um' in *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira*, or the more robust fados sung by Hermínia Silva in various films without the melancholia that many listeners come to expect.

The films in this dissertation demonstrate that fado's contested history, while at times sanitised to suit the prevailing political and social mood, is nonetheless represented and celebrated. To its detractors, it was a disreputable song with a less than wholesome past and associative of the evils and ills of society, a song sung in the taverns of the seedier districts of Lisbon by prostitutes and criminals. To those who disliked the song, it was certainly not a song for the family, and therefore not worthy of being proclaimed the national song. Yet, it would, by the late 1940s be embraced as the song of the family and the country by the conservative establishment who sought to quell the rise of liberal sentiment as a result of the allied victory in Europe. The Portuguese cinema offered up moments representing the negative views of fado, such as when in *A canção de Lisboa* or *Pátio das cantigas*, a character rails against the virtues and popularity of fado. However, these pronouncements are never a consensus opinion and by the end, all are admirers of the song. The comedies, in particular, make the most of the debate, using the opposing viewpoints for comedic set-pieces, adopting the *teatro*

de revista convention of broad political and social caricature in light-hearted satire, as was discussed in chapter four.

As was discussed in the preceding chapter, the *teatro de revista* contributed greatly to the process of legitimising and popularising the song. Fado adapted to the light entertainment requirements of the *teatro de revista*, demonstrating that it could accommodate various styles and themes. The more popular songs were then arranged for piano to be played in drawing rooms and sheet-music subsequently sold outside the theatres. The singers became stars and the *guitarristas*, seeking to perfect their technique, professionalised the playing of fado's traditional instruments. Fado's success in the theatre led to recordings for the wider audience of lusophone-speaking countries. Eventually, radio promoted fado, leading to the four minute, four verse *fado-canção* style becoming the standard form. The role played by theatre, radio, and the recording industry in this process has been documented by various authors (Vernon 1998; Nery 2004; Elliott 2010), but not much attention has been given to the role cinema may have had in this process. While this claim is not a key feature of the scope of this dissertation, it is clear that the films had a direct effect on popularising the *fado-canção* over other say 'authentic' styles, due mainly to the songwriters, all of which had developed in the *teatro de revista*. The most profound impact on fado via the cinema, came from the contribution to the standard canon of popular fados débuted in the films. For example, as was noted in chapter three, the songs from *A Severa* were popular choices for *fadistas* to sing in the streets, taverns and *casas do fado*. The fado repertoire therefore was dramatically influenced by the films and a key part of the process of formalising a standard popular form along with the theatre, the phonograph and radio.

Portuguese cinema also helped shape popular perceptions of fado via gender representations. As was discussed in the first chapter, female singers are more closely associated with the song in the public imagination, though fado is sung by both male and female *fadistas*. Amália and Hermínia Silva featured in more films than any other singers, and as discussed throughout, the two performers were leading practitioners of fado, albeit emphasising different performative qualities and emotional registers. Fado offers the women in the films an opportunity to pursue a career and earn a livelihood independent of male patriarchy and conventional family roles. This is most evident in *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira* with Ana Maria moving out on her own and rejecting the traditional role of wife to Júlio, and then rejecting an offer of marriage from Morais. And the gypsy character portrayed by Hermínia Silva in the two Ribatejo films, is a contented woman not tied down to a physical place or male.

The Portuguese cinema features both sexes as *fadistas*, but also provides ample screen-time and narrative importance to the male instrumentalists. Thus, the films, like the fado magazines and journals, recognise the importance of the guitarists in shaping popular perceptions of fado. However, while the representation of female *fadistas* dominated the films, the same cannot be said for male *fadistas*. Portuguese cinema during these decades did not feature male singers who were, in and of themselves, *fadistas*, but singers of popular songs, such as Alberto Ribeiro, or featured performers in the *teatro de revista*, such as Vasco Santana. None of the male singers portraying *fadistas* in the films actually began their careers singing fado. This reluctance at casting male *fadistas* in lead roles may be related to the objections to recording fado by Alfredo Marceineiro, who was the star male *fadista* during these years. Or is it possible that the

films were perceived as ‘women’s weepies’ and therefore not in keeping with the prevalent patriarchal attitudes of the time? It has been mentioned that the intimacy of the recorded singing voice led to some negative associations for male singers, as Simon Frith (1996, 188) notes in relation to male crooners who were initially regarded as too ‘effeminate.’ Curiously, the *fadista* roles of the men focus primarily on comedic (*A canção de Lisboa*) or nationalistic (*João Ratão*) themes, the exception being the roles played by Alberto Ribeiro in *Capas Negras* and *Cantiga da rua*, that show the singer openly displaying sentimental emotionality.

By the end of the 1920s, singers and *guitarristas* became recognised professionals. Fado’s legitimacy appeared complete, but this only stiffened the resolve of its enemies emboldened by the emerging right-wing authoritarianism. The fado, though popular and regularly referred to as the national song, was now in the sights of the dictatorship. Fado had been adopted as a protest song in the early 1900s by socialists and communists to rail against the conservative and catholic establishment. The *Estado Novo* did not at first trust the fado. The song’s leftist strain and undesirable criminal associations were not compatible with its conservative catholic ideology. The song was indulged but monitored through censorship and regulations that facilitated the standardisation of the song itself and of its performing spaces. It wasn’t until the post-World War Two years that the *Estado Novo* moved to use fado for its own propagandistic purposes. The call for more democratisation in the country following the Allied victory in Europe put the regime on notice. Opposition forces emerged energised and ready to campaign. It is in the films of the 1950s that fado can be seen in a light more favourable to the State and removed from its iconography and history. At this time

the national song was integral to the policy of Salazarism through the promotion of 'Fatima, fado and football.' Before continuing with concluding remarks, a brief analysis of two of these films will follow to provide contrast for the representations that have been explored in this dissertation.

In *Rosa de Alfama* / *Rosa of the Alfama* (Henrique Campos, 1953), two estranged brothers fight over family, commitment, work ethic and pride. José (Alberto Ribeiro) is the captain of a deep sea fishing vessel who is respected in the community (Alfama). Renato (Henrique Campos) is a jobless, wandering sailor, unwilling to conform to the values of his brother and father. Renato has fathered a son with Rosa Maria (Mariana Villar) who was 'adopted' by the brother's father, and though he clearly loves Rosa Maria does not want to accept the responsibility of marriage and fatherhood. After many clashes, culminating in José agreeing to marry Rosa Maria because it is the proper thing to do, the brothers are reconciled and Renato and Rosa Maria are married.

Fado features in this film but only through its ties to the Alfama. The fado house, the *Guitarra de Ouro* (The Golden Guitar), like the fado house in *Cantiga da rua*, is a restaurant. However, this venue is more restaurant than fado house. It is decorated in a kitschy maritime style with the bar shaped as a boat, fishing nets hanging throughout, and the staff dressed in white sailor outfits. Even the banister at the bottom of the stairs of the entrance is shaped as two oars. The restaurant is situated off the central courtyard that acts as the main square of the Alfama, away from the family focused courtyard. While it does not have the atmosphere of the bar in *O grande Elias* with its collection of

rough sailors and location in the dark streets of the Madragoa, there is still an attempt to portray the restaurant as not quite reputable via its location somewhere off the neighbourhood courtyard. Exiting the courtyard via a dark alleyway, the mise-en-scène suggests the dangerous streets of the Alfama during fado's early years, but the restaurant's interior is very much in keeping with the atmosphere of the courtyard, the site of family, friends and community festivals, rather than the noir style that is hinted at.

The restaurant has a dual narrative role – it is the place associated with the dangerous, slightly seedier elements of Renato's Alfama and the family-first, community spirit of his brother José. When the brothers first confront each other in the restaurant, instrumental fado is heard, its diegetic source revealed only at the end of the scene where two guitarists dressed in sailor costumes sit at a darkened corner table. The contrast of this part of the restaurant with its attendant associations of cigarette smoke, *chiaroscuro* lighting and shadows, and male machismo assertiveness, with that of the brighter, kitsch decorated restaurant proper with couples enjoying dinner and drinks, displays how the *Guitarra de Ouro* serves both needs. Fado underscores their argument as if drawing on the macho criminal element of fado's early years in the Alfama, but the surrounding decorations and family oriented restaurant setting undercuts that association (Figure 106).

Maritime kitsch (Figure 106)

As the *Guitarra de Ouro* represents the maritime associations of fado iconography, the kitschy decor does not allow for that representation to be anything other than a pastiche. Removed from the authenticity of the Alfama, *Rosa de Alfama* represents fado as it was performed in the state-sponsored 'Lisboa a noite' (Lisbon at Night) shows that infuriated the residents of the Alfama, where a State approved *fadista* and *guitarristas* were brought into the *bairro* with streamers and lamps as decoration to be followed by a bus-load of tourists who were told that they were about to see authentic fado performed. The *Guitarra de Ouro* is decorated along the lines of what became the state-sponsored *casas tipicas* (typical house), that catered to tourists more than local fado aficionados.

After Renato learns that he has a new born son is when we see fado sung for the first time. Emilia (Gina Esteves), the *fadista* who secretly loves him, tells him the news. Renato, feeling remorse for forsaking a pregnant Rosa Maria, tells Emilia that he has some fado lyrics for her – 'He's my son, but he is not mine/ It's her baby, only hers.'

The fado, sung by Emilia as she saunters among the patrons or poses next to Renato, takes in some key, now stereotypical, tropes of fado – the reference to suffering, pain and loss. Emilia, infatuated by Renato, is never depicted as having come between Renato and Rosa Maria, nor is she the reason for his waywardness. Instead, she is shown to be concerned with the health of her mother who she is looking after, and not some seductress.

The fado provides the emotional expression of Renato's sorrow at having turned his back on the possibility of family. There is a voice-over in between verses with Renato speaking the lyrics further emphasising the song as expression of his inner monologue. The fado very explicitly serves the narrative, in a way that is more along the generic convention of a film musical. Fado provides the opportunity for a moralising moment where the illicitness of the sexual affair between Renato and Rosa Maria, though they clearly love each other, is forgiven through the birth of a child, despite the fact that their affair is still referred to as a 'crime' in the song. The association of fado to themes of sorrow and loss are now nuanced for a more conservative message of family and responsibility.

Sangue Toureiro / *Bullfighter Blood* (Augusto Fraga, 1958) stars Amália as *fadista*, Maria de Graça, who falls in love with a bullfighter, Eduardo (real-life bullfighter, Diamantino Viseu), the son of a wealthy ranch owner. When his parents approach her and insist their son return to the ranch to take his traditional place as heir and marry the daughter of a neighbouring ranch owner, she leaves Portugal and becomes

a world-famous *fadista*. The film explores the now familiar cinematic link between fado and bullfighting, updating the Severa and Marialva affair but with the added dimension of capitalising on Amália's international fame.

The film appeals to a touristic fascination via a character of an American photographer, Miss Brown (Fernanda Borsatti). She has come to Lisbon to capture the 'authentic' Portugal. In her exchange with Maria de Graça, Miss Brown admits a fondness for fado, saying wistfully, 'fado, blood, *saudade*,' hitting the key themes of the film but only referencing the more overly sentimental and dramatic tropes of the song. Maria de Graça reacts sarcastically and with contempt for Miss Brown and her appraisal of 'authentic' fado, a fado that the *fadista* appears loath to accept. Yet, it is this more sanitised version of the song that the film represents. Throughout the film, Miss Brown is mocked for her ignorance of Lisbon and Portugal, especially as she is told that the sites she wishes to see are not exactly as she believes them to be, yet the film provides those very images of Lisbon that appeal to tourism, showcasing fado and bullfighting as the authentic exponents of Portuguese culture Miss Brown seeks.

The fado house where Maria de Graça performs is a nightclub but without the visual iconography represented in the films of the previous decades. When she sings the lights dim and a spotlight follows her around the club. She takes up the position next to the *guitarristas* only at the end of the song. Rather than fado being promoted, it is Amália, diva and international singer that is central to the performance. It is her performance only and the mise-en-scène is at the service of the singer and not fado and

its position as national song or sonic expression of community and emotion (Figure 107).

Nightclub fado (Figure 107)

This is further evident in the final scene of the film. Maria de Graça has left Eduardo at the insistence of his parents. She has also left Lisbon to go on a tour of Brazil and America. A title card reads 'New York' over a silhouette image of the city and the lush sound of an orchestra is heard. Maria de Graça's performance in New York is presented on a sound stage decorated with columns in a classical Greek style and heavy black drapes. A deep red carpet dissects the columns down the middle of the stage and the screen. Where the nightclub hid any iconography – visual fado images may have been present after all – the stage here is completely devoid of any visual fado representations that were displayed in the films of the 1930s and 1940s (Figure 108). The fado, 'Há só um amor na vida' (There is Only One Love in Life), like the fado in *Rosa de Alfama*, is an inner monologue musically tied to her emotionally. She sings that, 'I cannot forget/My previous happiness/There is little for me now/But longing and hurt.'

The film follows the trope of a *fadista* who has suffered and is now able to tap into those emotions for the full expression of her melancholy. In this respect, the performance is similar to the French *chanson réaliste* or torch singing.[26] The accompanying icons that set the song apart from torch singing and represent it as fado, such as the *guitarra*, the fado house, the *bairro* location, all associations that feature in the films of the 1930s and 1940s, are absent here. The song is performed before an unseen New York audience, who it is presumed would have little, or no, understanding of the iconographies or history of fado. The fado is internationalised, promoted as the Portuguese song of melancholy for an international audience, but not necessarily as the national song of the Portuguese.

Removed from fado iconography (Figure 108)

[26]For studies on the chanson réaliste in French cinema, see Ginette Vincendeau (1987) and Kelley Conway (2004), and see the work of Stacy Holman-Jones (2007) on torch singing.

As this dissertation has shown, the popular films of the 1930s and 1940s, though conservative in nature, do not shy away from representing fado's historical association with subversive and non-conforming groups of Portuguese society. The representations are sanitised, especially when it comes to the tricky association with prostitution, as the film industry and fado was subject to censorship laws imposed by the *Estado Novo* over all media and who implemented a severe strategy against political dissidents, especially communist and left-leaning liberals. However, fado's tradition of exploring its past via lyrics, visual iconography, and the celebration of vital performers, such as Maria Severa, meant that the song would not completely disavow its own history and become a song of a dictatorship. As was pointed out in chapter one, the *Estado Novo* never truly trusted fado but was wary of clamping down on it because of its popularity.

The compliance of the Portuguese cinema during these first two decades of the *Estado Novo* is implied by a critical reaction to the films as popular and entertaining. In the opinion of Eduardo Gaeda (1981) the Portuguese cinema aided the regime in its ideological goals and was instrumental in propagandising the populace:

> The new state created from its inception a cinema in its own image which aimed to give an idyllic view of the people and population which would correspond to the spiritual objectives of the Dictator and to the economic interests of the class holding power.
>
> In this way, for all the 48 years of the new state, the collective consciousness of the Portuguese people was inculcated with

> the seductive rhetoric of everyday fascism. It was modest and conformist in appeal and drew on folklore but it concealed the violent reality of the dictatorship of capitalist exploitation and colonialism. (66)

Implicit in this quotation is the assumption that entertainment films shy away from representations of authoritarian hardships because they are too firmly rooted in 'everyday fascism' – a function of their popular appeal to entertain. Entertainment as escapism has existed in national film industries and under democratic or authoritarian governments. Accounts of entertainment cinema in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Francoist Spain explore the status quo representations, and while they see these films as possibly more affective as propaganda instruments because of their subtle negotiations with 'everyday fascism,' a nuanced subversion is also readable.[27] However, in the case of Portuguese popular cinema of the 1930s and 1940s, the escapism is directly tied to Salazarism. Even now, as these films still delight Portuguese audiences today, especially the comedies, critical derision continues:

> Many of the 'Lisbon comedies' were huge blockbusters and, over the last 30 years, they have enjoyed a new lease of life through repeated broadcasting and home video releases that stretches as far as the present time. ...[T]his retrospective

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[27]These include, but are not restricted to: Petley (1979), Landy (1986), Hay (1987), Hake (2001), Reich and Garofalo (2002), Lázaro-Reboll and Willis (2004), O'Brien (2004), Marsh (2006), Ricci (2008).

> validation of 'Lisbon comedies' is still disappointing if one considers that it was already under a democratic regime that such conservative films (both socially and politically) earned such a consensual status in common sense and taste. (Baptista 2010, 7)

Yes, the films are conservative, and they fail to tackle the political, economic, and social realities of the years of the *Estado Novo*, but dismissing them because of their ability to entertain fails to address representations that run counter to the prevailing ideology. So-called high art, political or auteur films have been championed as cinema that tackles society's weightier issues, while popular entertainment films are disappointing for being escapist. This coincides with the derisory attitude shown fado after the 1974 revolution because of its position as the national song promoted by the dictatorship. However, as this dissertation argues, fado was able to grow its mass appeal without the full support of the regime who continued to harbour reservations about the song.

In the chapter titled 'Fado Interludes,' the figure of the gypsy and the vagabond *fadista* show that fado was a song of outsiders. Even when the regime moved to censor lyrics as a way to remove leftist messages and control the improvisatory style, the gypsy and the vagabond were reminders of fado's roots as a marginal song of dissent and outsider status. In *Gado Bravo*, the promotion of folklore and machismo comes up

alongside the travelling drifter, down-on-his-luck and ruined by alcohol and love of a woman who sings fado to the admiration of an aristocrat. The gypsy in *Homem do Ribatejo* and its sequel, *Ribatejo*, is welcomed into the village community to sing fado, but is still not accepted as a member of the community. Through these figures, fado is loved but not fully integrated into society, its historical position on the margins and association with outsiders not fully appropriated by the status quo.

This is made even more problematic with the song's links to prostitution. Whether it's the connection to the historical or mythical Maria Severa, or as a song of transgression and sexual pleasure, fado and the prostitute offer a representation that is steeped in fado iconography, but difficult to reconcile with an authoritarian regime. In *Aldeia da roupa branca*, the fado house is a dark, intimate venue where lovers drink, stare into each other's eyes, and arrange late-night liaisons. The song in this film hints at prostitution and though it's never revealed what was written in the note, the scene offers a representation of fado that fit with the conservative detractors who derided the song as an enemy of family values and a potential evil for Portuguese youth. Once fado is taken out of Lisbon and the fado house and sung in the country and the light of the day, then it is depicted as a song of love rather than sex. The contradiction in its associations in this film suggests that fado and film are still negotiating the relationship with its critics, appealing to the status quo while embracing its past.

Maria Severa presents the regime and Portuguese cinema with a dilemma; how to represent the iconic figure of the *fadista* prostitute and still appeal to the values of family and community? As was shown in chapter three, with *A Severa*, the prostitute

becomes the gypsy of Júlio Dantas' theatrical imagination who, though she is feisty, sensual and coquettish, must die at the end of the film so that fado can go on to become the national song. Through the figure of Severa, this film, and the short film *Fado Malhoa*, the representations do not shy away from the issue of prostitution or illicit affairs, but do attempt to suit the needs of fado tradition and a more conservative dogma. In the short film the overt sensuality of the José Malhoa painting cannot be denied but only made acceptable via Amália's presence. Yet, she is still shown smoking and acting seductive while being leered at by the *guitarrista*. The naive innocence of her initial entrance where she covers up with a shawl, gives way to fado's strong association to sex and passion depicted in the painting. Dina Teresa's sensual portrayal of Severa in *A Severa*, while appearing at the beginning of Salazar's premiership, is held up as a defining film celebrating traditional Portuguese folklore and values, which would be embraced by the *Estado Novo* though they moved to sanitise fado's marginal associations.

Chapter three focused on the films where fado featured as a central narrative theme, traced the standardisation of the performance venues and the attendant visual iconographies. From the taverns of *A Severa*, establishments that are clearly drinking venues first, to the fado house/restaurant of *Cantiga da rua*, with its walls festooned with pictures of famous *fadistas* and frescos of *guitarras*, the State's moves to homogenise the performance venues so that it may remove those connotations that were objectionable, does reflect the interference of the regime into fado. While the *Estado Novo* may have been cautious in its promotion of fado throughout the 1930s and for much of the 1940s, the dramas trace this awkward relationship, cinematically.

Amália Rodrigues with her growing popularity provided Portuguese cinema with a ready-made star to put up on its screens. In *Capas Negras* and *Fado: historia d'uma cantadeira*, she plays a young parent-less *fadista* with a large and supportive community around her. While the dramas appear to be more aligned to the *Estado Novo's* promotion of patriarchy and family, it does show women being assertive and pursuing individual goals and careers, that clash at times with the wishes of male lovers and father-figures. The feature films, while capitalising on Amália popularity, still present her as a character who happens to be a *fadista*. This allows the films to keep fado at the centre of the narrative and exploit the visual iconographies such as the black shawl and the *guitarra*; the location of traditional fado bairros (and in the case of Capas Negras, Coimbra, though Amália portrays Maria Lisboa, a *fadista* who sings in the style of Lisbon fado); and the trope of *saudade*. In the short film *Fado Malhoa* and in her cameo appearance in *Sol e Touros*, she is playing Amália and her star status as the queen of fado is pushed to the forefront. In these films her performance style contrasts with those that preceded her on film, which demonstrates the effect she had on fado through her emotive vocal style and gestural expressiveness. While it was said that Amália used her international stardom to present the world with a positive representation of Portugal rather than the deprivation and hardship of life under Salazarism, these fado dramas operate as popular entertainment fulfilling the requirements of presenting a popular song and a popular singer. In portraying the prostitute in the Malhoa painting, Amália, like the regime and Portuguese cinema, is negotiating how to embrace fado tradition, even if that tradition is tied to seedier associations.

In the *comédia à portuguesa*, discussed in chapter four, fado is rendered compatible with the comedy format via its associations with the light-hearted entertainment traditions of the *teatro de revista*. Fado, having experienced decades of accommodation and adaptation, had by the 1930s adjusted to fit within a variety performance taking on a lighter satirical tone while continuing to nurture its melancholic dimension. In particular, *O Costa do Castelo* and *O grande Elias* reconcile the demands of a comedic tradition for parody and exaggeration at the same time that it respects and celebrates the conventions of fado. The song's purported evocation of the national imaginary of *saudade* and its melancholia, as in the films *A canção de Lisboa* and *O pátio das cantigas*, suggests a harmonising of community values and a musical representation of the nation. Assimilating the formal elements of the *revista*, the *comédias* present a series of comedic sketches, dances, songs, and broad comic caricatures, along with a healthy smattering of punning, all folded within a narrative of love, family, and the inversion of social hierarchies.

Curiously, the comedies have been regarded as among the more closely aligned to the regime in the depiction of values complicit with the *Estado Novo*. Yet, as was noted in chapter 4, it was the comedies that were derided by the regime's propaganda minister, António Ferro, as the 'cancer of the national cinema.' The comedies' conservatism, certainly in their depiction of the 'poor but happy' people and adherence of social status, offer critics a representation of Portugal that coincides with the political and cultural project of the *Estado Novo*. The comedies, for example, do not show the harsh realities of life in the country, a criticism often levelled at them. *A canção de Lisboa*, *O patio das cantigas*, and *O Costa do Castelo*, ascribe village values to Lisbon

neighbourhoods to create a sense of utopian *bairrismo*, embracing modernity through a fascination with certain technologies (the radio, for example) but never at the expense of representations of an idyllic past linked to ruralism. But are they any different from popular comedies from other film-producing nations of those decades? Moreover, the song's transgressive association, so much a part of fado's self-referentiality, can be seen to be almost out of place in these conservative films. Popular songs abound in the comedies with fado peripheral to the narrative or whose narrative arc is dispensed with early on as it is in *O Costa do Castelo*. In *O grande Elias*, the fado sequence is so peripheral to the narrative that, as was noted in chapter four, many critics of the day commented that the scene could be easily discarded. When Vasco decries fado in *A canção de Lisboa*, he gives voice to those detractors who saw in fado a lack of conservative morals, yet, in the end, Vasco does embrace fado, becoming a major attraction at the cafe and rescuing himself from poverty and solitude. There is nuance in the representation of fado in these comedies that trace these critical debates around the song and thereby expose some underlying tensions. If the comedies are the 'dream factory of the regime' (Granja 2000) then they show that fado's celebrated transgressive associations are problematic in fulfilling this function, despite the song's popularity.

After the 1974 revolution, fado was shunted aside for its supposed compliance with the dictatorship. Amália was particularly derided for her position as fado's star-*fadista* and role as the singing voice of the regime. Gradually though she would once again be embraced by the Portuguese people and fado would find a new audience and

young practitioners. Today, the song is unashamedly the national song with a new star-*fadista*, Mariza, performing to millions around the world. In 1998 the Fado Museum opened in the Alfama, culturally and academically institutionalising fado as a legitimate and respected art-form. And Portuguese cinema has looked to the fado to explore issues of Portuguese identity and culture in the era of globalisation and migration. For example, *Ganhar a vida* / *Get A Life* (João Canijo, 2001), explores the hardships of the Portuguese émigré community in the Paris *banlieues*, where Cidàlia (Rita Blanco) goes against the community and her family to find the truth behind the murder of her teenage son. She sings fado at a neighbourhood festival, using the song to express her loss. At the same time, her performance becomes an act of defiance – she will not be silenced.

This dissertation has explored the audio-visual representation of fado as a song of melancholy, passion, humour, and nostalgia. In the popular films of the 1930s and 1940s, the song is more than just a song of lament, or as Salazar derisively quipped, a song that displayed the fatal sentimentalism that hampered the modern progress of the Portuguese people. It is, instead, a song of pleasure and aesthetic beauty. Whether in dramas centered around fado, or melodramas that celebrate rural folklore, or in comedies set in a Lisbon neighbourhood, fado's evocative power as a unique Portuguese song stands out amongst other songs in the films. Fado is the only song where the musical accompaniment is almost always diegetic (the lone exception being *Capas Negras* which includes Amália singing fado in a standard film-musical style): a non-diegetic musical source and lyrics that act as inner monologue. The films show the guitarists sitting by the *fadista*, or close-by, and the editing favours close-ups of the Portuguese *guitarra*, again emphasising the iconographic importance of the instrument

to the appreciation of fado. Other visual iconographies – the dark clothing, pictorial representations of bullfighting, and photographs of past and current singers and guitarists, to name a few – are significant features in the mise-en-scène of the fado sequence. Indeed, as this dissertation has revealed, fado's iconography, history, performance practice, and stars, demonstrate that the films are more than merely entertainment of an 'everyday fascism.' This dissertation has begun the process of examining the popular films during the years of dictatorship, not solely through the prism of the regime, but as nuanced representations of Portuguese culture.

Filmography

A canção de Lisboa (Cottinelli Telmo, Portugal, Tobis Portuguesa, 1933)

A Severa (José Leitão de Barros, Portugal, Sociedade Universal de Superfilmes/SUS, 1931)

Aldeia da roupa branca (Chianca de Garcia, Portugal, Tobis Portuguesa, 1938)

Cantiga da rua (Henrique de Campos, Portugal, Filmes Albuquerque, 1950)

Capas Negras (Armando de Miranda, Portugal, Cinelândia, 1947)

Fado: história d'uma cantadeira (Perdigão Queiroga, Portugal, Lisboa Filme, 1947)

Fado Malhoa (Augusto Fraga, Portugal, Doperfilme, 1947)

Gado Bravo (António Lopes Ribeiro, Portugal, Bloco H. Da Costa, 1934)

João Ratão (Jorge Brum do Canto, Portugal, Tobis Portuguesa, 1940)

Maria Papoila (José Leitão de Barros, Portugal, Lumiar Filmes, 1937)

O Costa do Castelo (Arthur Duarte, Portugal, Tobis Portuguesa, 1943)

O Fado (Maurice Mariaud, Portugal, Pátria Film, 1923)

O grande Elias (Arthur Duarte, Portugal, Tobis Portuguesa, 1950)

O pátio das cantigas (Francisco Ribeiro, Portugal, António Lopes Ribeiro, 1942)

Ribatejo (Henrique de Campos, Portugal, Tobis Portuguesa, 1949)

Rosa de Alfama (Henrique de Campos, Portugal, António Redondo, 1953)

Sangue Toureiro (Augusto Fraga, Portugal, Produtores Associados, 1958)

Sol e Toiros (Jose Buchs, Portugal, Produtores Associados, 1949)

Um homem do Ribatejo (Henrique de Campos, Portugal, Filmes Albuquerque, 1946)

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